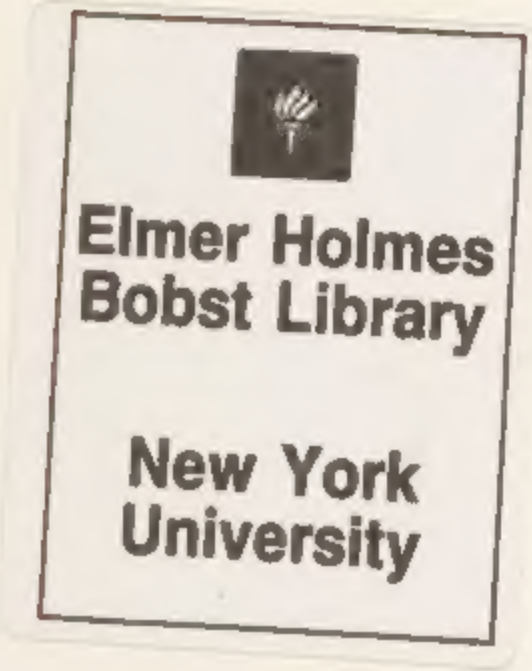
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PTOCHEIA
OR
ODYSSEUS IN DISGUISE AT TROY
(P. KÖLN VI 245)

AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

Editors
G. M. Browne, L. Koenen, M. Haslam, A. E. Hanson

Number 31
Ptocheia or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy
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Edition and Commentary
by
Maryline G. Parca

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PA
3323
.P86
1991
c.1

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Ptocheia, or, Odysseus in disguise at Troy : (P. Köln VI 245) /
edition and commentary by Maryline G. Parca.
p. cm. — (American studies in papyrology ; no. 31)
Greek text; commentary in English.
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 1-55540-570-3 (alk. paper)
1. Manuscripts, Greek (Papyri) 2. Odysseus (Greek mythology)
—Poetry. 3. Trojan War—Poetry. I. Parca, Maryline G. II. Title:
Odysseus in disguise at Troy. III. Series.
PA3323.P86 1990
881'.01—dc20 90-24126
CIP

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

Pour Gisèle et Ugo

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Preface

This monograph expands upon the *editio princeps* of P. Köln VI 245, which appeared in 1987 in the sixth volume of the Cologne papyri.[1]

The piece is literary in nature, a fragment of Greek poetry written in the late Roman period; I am inclined to ascribe it to the tragic genre. The text deals with events leading to the sack of Ilion: Odysseus' mission to the Trojan city to contact Helen and, presumably, to stage the theft of the Palladium, and Trojan Antenor's possible collaboration in the enterprise. In this version of the episode, Odysseus recites a prayer to Athena before describing his mission, and a second speaker gives a prologue-like account, starting with the death of Paris, of the course of events culminating in the theft of the sacred image.

The fragment suggests that revision of received opinion is appropriate in several different areas. First, the date of the papyrus late in the Roman period casts new light upon the continuing rôle of Greek tragedy long after the genre's classical heyday. Second, if the piece originated in Upper Egypt, the text testifies to the continuing vigor of literary life in an area often dismissed as culturally *retardataire*, but which has, in fact, yielded significant numbers of important literary documents. Finally, it is probable that the Cologne papyrus is an autograph. If so, the new text, correctly ascribed to tragedy, may be an original manuscript of that genre preserved from antiquity.[2]

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[1] *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia VII, Kölner Papyri (P. Köln) Band 6* (Opladen 1987). The first edition contains a number of suggestions by me and others which, after reconsideration, I do not repeat.

[2] Editorial conventions follow those of E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri. An Introduction* (Oxford 1980, 2nd ed.), 179-180. Periodicals are abbreviated as in *L'Année Philologique*, and editions of papyri in J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. 4, Decatur Ga 1985, 3rd ed.). When possible, I have followed or adapted the Loeb translation. Excerpts from Greek Tragedy are quoted from *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, D. Grene & R. Lattimore edd. (Chicago 1959), and Dictys in R.M. Frazer's translation: *The Trojan War. The Chron-*

My deepest thanks go first to my thesis advisor, Professor Ludwig Koenen, without whose generosity, scholarly advice and unfailing support this study and the dissertation from which it grew could neither have been undertaken nor completed, and to Professor Reinhold Merkelbach who kindly allowed me to study the Cologne fragment. To Professor T. V. Buttrey, Professor [redacted]. W. Gellrich and Professor R. [redacted]. Williams, [redacted] of whom read the thesis, I am grateful for much sound counsel. My work also profited greatly from the valuable suggestions of Dr. Colin Austin, Professors A. Dyck, M. Gronewald, A. E. Hanson, M. W. Haslam, R. Kannicht, R. Kassel, [redacted]. Lloyd-Jones, K. Maresch, S. L. Radt, M. L. West, and Mr. P. J. Parsons. Also, I am indebted to Professor G. Nachtergael and Professor M. Hombert of the Université Libre de Bruxelles for their encouragement over the course [redacted] many years.

My examination of this papyrus was generously financed by grants from the Fonds National de [redacted] Recherche Scientifique of Belgium (1980-1984) and by a Graduate Fellowship from the Department of Classical Studies of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (1979-1980).

Lastly, I am grateful to Mrs. L. C. Youtie of the University of Michigan, and the staff of the American Academy in Rome for providing such ideal working conditions in the libraries of those institutions.

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icles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian (Bloomington, Ind. - London 1966). All other English renditions are mine.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

I. Ancient Authors

Unless mentioned below, the text of the Greek and Latin authors is that of the *Oxford Classical Texts*.

AB	*Anecdota Graeca*, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin 1814-1821).
Aelius Aristides	*Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia*, ed. B. Keil (Berlin 1958, 2nd ed.).
Alcaeus	*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, edd. E. Lobel & D. L. Page (Oxford 1955).
A.P.	*Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, ed. H. Stadtmüller (Leipzig 1894-1906).
Apollodorus	*The Library*, with an Engl. transl. by J.G. Frazer. (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1921).
Apuleius	*The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)*, ed. J. Gwyn Griffiths (Leiden 1975).
Athenaeus	*Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum libri XV*, ed. G. Kaibel (Leipzig 1887-1890).
Austin	*Nova fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta* (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 187, Berlin 1968).
Bacchylides	*Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis*, edd. B. Snell & H. Maehler (Leipzig 1970, 10th ed.).
CAF	*Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, ed. Th. Kock (Leipzig 1880-1888).
CGFP	*Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta*, ed. C. Austin (Berlin-New York 1973).
Corp.Herm.	*Corpus Hermeticum*, edd. A.D. Nock & A.-J. Festugière (Paris 1945-1954).
Dictys	*Dictys Cretensis*, ed. W. Eisenhut (Leipzig 1973).

Elegy & Iambus	*Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, ed. M.L. West (Oxford 1971-1972).
Et.magn.	*Etymologicum magnum*, ed. Th. Gaisford (Oxford 1848).
Eustathius	*Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem ad fidem exempli Romani editi*, ed. M. van der Valk, vols. I-IV (A-P) (Leiden 1971-1979).
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin 1923-1930, Leiden 1940-1958).
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, edd. C. & Th. Müller (Paris 1841-1870).
Heitsch	*Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* I-II, ■. E. Heitsch (Göttingen 1961-1964).
Heracleitus	*Héraclite. Allégories d'Homère*, ■. & ■. F. Buffière (Paris 1962).
Herodas	*Herodas. Mimiambi*, ■. I.C. Cunningham (Oxford 1971).
	■ ΜΙΜΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΝΔΟΥ, ed. B.G. Mandilaras (Athens 1986).
Heliodorus	*Héliodore. Les Ethiopiques*, edd. R.M. Rattenbury & T.W. Lumb, trad. J. Maillon (Paris 1935-1943).
Hesychius	*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. ■. Latte, vols. I-II (α-ο) (Copenhagen 1953-1966); ed. M. Schmidt, vols. III-IV (π-ω) (Iena 1861-1862, repr. Amsterdam 1965).
Lycophron	*Lycophronis Alexandra*, rec. ■. Scheer, vol. I: *Alexandra cum paraphrasibus ad codicum fidem recensita et emendata*; vol. II: *Scholia continens* (Berlin 1958, 2nd ed.).
■	A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1889, 2nd ed.).
N^2 Suppl.	A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Supplementum*, adiec. B. Snell (Hildesheim 1964).
Nonnus	*Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*, rec. R. Keydell (Berlin 1959).
Orphic texts	*Orphica* (*accedunt Procli hymni, hymni magici, hymnus in Isim, aliaque eiusmodi carmina*), rec. E. Abel (Leipzig 1885).

	Orphicorum fragmenta, ed. O. Kern (Berlin 1922).
	Orphei hymni, ed. G. Quandt (Berlin 1955).
Pausanias	*Pausanias Graeciae descriptio*, ed. M.H. Rocha-Pereira (Leipzig 1973-1977).
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*. IV: *Aristophon - Crobylus*; III 2: *Aristophanes*; V: *Damoxenus - Magnes*, edd. R. Kassel & C. Austin (Berlin-New York 1983-1986).
Pindar	*Pindari carmina cum fragmentis. Pars I: Epinicia*, post B. Snell ed. H. Maehler (Leipzig 1975, ed. 5ª).
	Pindari carmina. Pars II: Fragmenta, Indices, ed. B. Snell (Leipzig 1964, 3rd ed.).
PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, ed. K. Preisendanz (Leipzig-Berlin 1928-1931, repr. Stuttgart 1973-1974).
Plutarch, *Facie*	*De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet*, with an Engl. tr. by H. Cherniss & W.C. Helmbold, in: *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. XII (London-Cambridge, Mass. 1952).
Plutarch, *Iside*	*De Iside et Osiride*, ed. J. Gwyn Griffiths (Cardiff 1970).
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D.L. Page (Oxford 1962).
Pollux	*Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe (Leipzig 1900-1937).
Powell	*Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J.U. Powell (Oxford 1925).
Proclus, *Hymns*	*Procli Hymni*, ed. E. Vogt (Wiesbaden 1957).
Proclus, *Chrest.*	A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos. IV: La Vita Homeri et les sommaires du Cycle* (Paris 1963).
Proclus, *In Tim.*	*Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl (Leipzig 1903-1906, repr. 1965).
Sappho	*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, edd. E. Lobel & D.L. Page (Oxford 1955).
Schol. Arist.	*Jo. Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem, III: in Ranas et in Aves*, ed. W. J. W. Koster (Amsterdam 1962).

	Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem cum prolegomenis grammaticorum, ed. F. Dübner (Paris 1883).
Schol. Eur.	*Scholia in Euripidem*, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin 1887-1891).
Schol. Hom.	*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, ed. G. Dindorf (Oxford 1875); *in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf (Oxford 1855).
Schol. Pind.	*Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, ed. A.B. Drachmann (Leipzig 1903-1927).
Schol. Theocr.	*Scholia in Theocritum*, ed. F. Dübner (Paris 1849).
Servius	*Servianorum in Vergilii carmina commentariorum editionis Harvardianae vol. II* (Lancaster, Penn. 1946).
SH	*Supplementum Hellenisticum*, edd. H. Lloyd-Jones & P. Parsons (Berlin-New York 1983).
Suidas	*Suidae lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig 1928-1938).
SVF	*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. J. v. Arnim (Leipzig 1903-1924).
TrGF 1	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 1: *Didascaliae tragicae, catalogi tragicorum et tragoediarum, testimonia et fragmenta tragicorum minorum*, ed. B. Snell (Göttingen 1971).
TrGF 2	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 2: *Fragmenta adespota. Testimonia volumini 1 addenda, indices ad volumina 1 et 2*, edd. R. Kannicht & B. Snell (Göttingen 1981).
TrGF 3	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 3: *Aeschylus*, ed. S. Radt (Göttingen 1985).
TrGF 4	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 4: *Sophocles*, ed. S. Radt (Göttingen 1977).
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Tzetzes	*Scholia in Lycophronis Alexandram* (*supra* s.v. Lycophron, vol. II).

Tzetzes	*Ioannis Tzetzae Historiarum Variarum Chiliades*, rec. Th. Kiessling (Leipzig 1826, repr. Hildesheim 1963).
VS	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. Diels, 6th ed. W. Kranz (Berlin 1951-1952).
Quint. Smyrn.	*Quintus de Smyrne. La suite d'Homère*, ed. & tr. F. Vian (Paris 1963-1969).

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AE	L'Année Epigraphique.
BE	Bulletin Epigraphique.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae.
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
P. Berol.	Berlin Papyri.
P. Giss.	Griechische Papyri im Museum zu Giessen.
P. Oxy.	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
PSI	Papiri greci e latini (Pubbl. Società Italiana).
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
SIG	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris.

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ARV²	Beazley, J.D., *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford 1963, 2nd ed.).

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Latte, *Eranos* 1954	Latte, K., 'Zur Geschichte der griechischen Tragödie in der Kaiserzeit', *Eranos* 52 (1954) 125-127.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich 1981-).
Lilja, *Odours*	Lilja, S., *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 49, Helsinki 1972).
Lohmeyer, *Wohlgeruch*	Lohmeyer, E., *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch* (Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. Heidelberg 9, Heidelberg 1919).
L'Orange, *SO* 1935	L'Orange, H.P., 'Sol Invictus Imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose', *SO* 14 (1935) 86-114.
Lorimer, *Monuments*	Lorimer, H.L., *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950).
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon*, edd. H.G. Liddell - R. Scott - H. Stuart Jones - R. McKenzie (9th ed. with Supplement, Oxford 1968).
Maas, *Metrik*	Maas, P., *Griechische Metrik* (Leipzig-Berlin 1923) = *Greek Meter* (Oxford 1962).
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Marcovich, *TWT*	Marcovich, M., *Three-Word Trimeter in Greek Tragedy* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 158, Königstein 1984).
Mayser	Mayser, E., *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I², 1-2, rev. H. Schmoll (Berlin 1970).
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Miscel·lània papirològica	*Miscel·lània papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig*, ed. S. Janeras (Barcelona 1987).
Montevecchi, *Studi Carlini-Paribeni*	Montevecchi, O., 'Pantokrator', *Studi in onore di A. Carlini e R. Paribeni* II (Milan 1957) 401-432.
Montevecchi, *Papirologia*	Montevecchi, O., *La papirologia* (Turin 1973).
Moret, *Ilioupersis*	Moret, J.-M., *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée au IVème siècle* (Geneva 1975).
Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*	Müller, D., *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (Abhandlungen Leipzig 53.1, Berlin 1961).
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Nilsson, *Religion*	Nilsson, M.P., *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 1 (Munich 1967, 3rd ed.); 2 (Munich 1974, 3rd ed.).
Nock	Nock, A.D., *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass. 1972).
Norden, *Agnostos Theos*	Norden, E., *Agnostos Theos* (Darmstadt 1912).
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P. Coll. Youtie	*Collectanea Papyrologica. Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*, ed. A. E. Hanson (Bonn 1976).
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Raubitschek-Jeffery, *Dedications*	Raubitschek, A. E. & Jeffery, L. H., *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge U.K. 1949).
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894-1980).
Rice, *Procession*	Rice, E.E., *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983).
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Robert, *Heldensage*	Robert, C., *Die griechische Heldensage* III 2.1 (Berlin 1923).
Roberts, *Hands*	Roberts, C.H., *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford 1955).
Roscher	Roscher, W.H., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884-1890).
Roscher, *Selene*	Roscher, W.H., *Über Selene und verwandtes* (Leipzig 1890).
RVAp	Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A., *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* (Oxford 1978-1982).
Schauenburg, *Helios*	Schauenburg, K., *Helios. Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott* (Berlin 1955).
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Seider, *Paläographie*	Seider, R., *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*. I: *Urkunden* (Stuttgart 1967).
Severyns	Severyns, A., *Recherches sur la "Chrestomathie" de Proclos. IV. La "Vita Homeri" et les sommaires du cycle* (Paris 1963).
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Severyns, *Serta*	Severyns, A., 'La "Petite Iliade" [illegible] Papyrus Rylands XXII', *Serta Leodiensia* (Liège 1930) 305-326.
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Taplin, *LCM* 1976	Taplin, O., 'ΧΟΡΟΥ and the Structure of Post-Classical Tragedy', *LCM* 1 (1976) 47-50.
TGL	*Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, ab H. Stephano constructus, tertio edd. [illegible]. Hase, G. Dindorf & L. Dindorf (Paris 1831-1865).
Turner, *GMAW*	Turner, E.G., *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* 2nd. ed. rev. and enlarged by P.J. Parsons (BICS Suppl. 46, London 1987).
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Vermeule, *Götterkult*	Vermeule, E.T., *Götterkult* (Archaeologia Homerica III, Göttingen 1974).
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Wagner	Wagner, R., 'Antenor', *RE* 2 (1894) 2351-2353.
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Ziehen	Ziehen, L., 'Palladion', *RE* 36.2 (1949) 171-189.
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EDITORIAL SIGLA

In general, this edition follows the editorial conventions common in papyrological publications.

[....]	lacuna in text; the number of dots indicates the approximate number of lost letters
' '	additions above the line
[ ]	deletion in the original
{ }	superfluous letter or letters in the original
< >	omission in the original
$\underset{\cdot\,\cdot}{\alpha\beta}$	the dots indicate uncertain readings
vacat, vac.	vacant space in the original
⏑	*synecphonesis*

Chapter I

The Text of P. Köln VI 245

P. Köln VI 245 (plate 1) was acquired with a group of Ptolemaic documents from a dealer in Luxor. Two texts (P. Köln I 50 and 51) have thus far been published from that lot, both of which date from 99 B.C. and concern the sale of property in Pathyris in Upper Egypt. Although single sites are known to have yielded documents of markedly varied character, the late Roman date of this literary papyrus hints that it may have had a different provenance. Still, its appearance in Luxor and its association with documents from Pathyris do suggest that it was probably unearthed in Upper Egypt.

Description

The papyrus comprises two fragments: A, the upper three quarters of the surviving document, and B, the lower quarter. The position of fragment B is secure because a stroke of ink forming the tail of the final letter α in line 24 of fragment B appears on the left edge of the vertical break of the pendant right-hand section of A.

The document measures 17 x 26 cm., and preserves the remnants of three columns of writing. In column I there remain only the faded traces of the ends of ten lines. A body of continuous text survives in column II, in which forty-two lines are almost entirely preserved. Column III comprises the faint beginnings of fifteen lines. Columns I and II are separated by an intercolumnium of about 3 cm. in width, and columns II and III by another between 4.5 to 5 cm. Each intercolumnium swerves increasingly to the left, reflecting the tendency of the scribe to begin each new line a little further to the left (Maas' Law).[1] The outer edges of the papyrus are torn vertically. A wide vertical lacuna also obliterates part of column II, and there is another small tear between columns II and III. These vertical breaks and the columnar composition of the manuscript reveal that the papyrus fragment was part of a roll.

[1] Cf. P. Oxy. XV 1819; XXI 2288; Roberts, *Hands*, pl. 6a; Turner, *GMAW*, 5.

The papyrus bears a vertical sheet-join[2] running roughly along the right edge of column II, approximately 12 cm. from the left margin of the document. The two pasted sheets, or *kollemata*,[3] overlap by about 1.5 cm. It is uncertain how wide the individual sheets would have been when complete. The upper margin is extant, but the bottom one is missing. The writing runs along the fibers ■ the inside of the roll (recto), and the outside (verso) was left blank.[4]

Paragraphi are drawn below lines 3, 5, 19, and 22 in column II, and below lines 20, 24 and 28 in column III. Their occurrence in both columns II and III suggests that the papyrus roll contained substantially more of the work of which the new text is but a fragment. These horizontal strokes projecting into the margin are generally placed between the lines of writing, below the beginning of the line ■ ■ marked. In papyri preserving passages of lyric poetry, paragraphi may denote a division into metrical sections, while in dramatic texts written in trimeters or tetrameters they usually indicate a change of speaker.[5] However, in this text, written in trimeters, their function is less clear.[6]

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[2] For a definition, see Turner, *Recto*, 15-16.

[3] N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974), 79 (n. 18) - 83; J.M. Robinson, ed., *Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex III* (Leiden 1976), introduction; Turner, *Recto*, 15-16.

[4] For the terminology, see Turner, *Recto*, 63.

[5] Schubart, *Buch*, 85-86; I.C.B. Lowe, 'The Manuscript Evidence for Changes of Speaker ■ Aristophanes', *BICS* 9 (1962), 31-35; Turner, *GMAW*, ■ and 13; M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Techniques* (Stuttgart 1973), 55; K.-U. Wahl, *Sprecherbezeichnungen mit griechischen Buchstaben in den Handschriften des Plautus und Terenz* (Tübingen 1974), and S. Bonnycastle - L. Koenen, 'Euripides' *Kresphontes*: A Ptolemaic Fragment from the Papyrus Collection of the University of Michigan (P. Mich. Inv. 6973)', 3-4 with notes (forthcoming in: *Proceedings of the University of Michigan Symposium on Drama*, Ann Arbor 1987). The paragraphi in P. Köln VI 245, in part, may mark asides or, more generally, sections of the speech; the latter is common practice in papyrological prose texts (Andrieu, *Dialogue*, 263; Turner, *GMAW*, 10) and in documents. In tragedy, paragraphi can also have the function of marking the part of the chorus when the chorus engages in a dialogue with the actors (P. Oxy. VIII 1083, 2nd cent. A.D.). The matter will be discussed in chapter III, esp. pp. 78-83 with n. 12.

[6] For example, the paragraphus below 19 might denote a change of speaker starting with the line itself rather than announcing an alternation of the dialogue in the following verse. Or is its position merely a banal error?

No diacritical signs are used in the fragment. The blank spaces occasionally left between words (in lines 6, 16, 17, 23, 34) are not all easily explained. The blanks in lines 6, 16 and 34 were probably intended as punctuation (Turner, *GMAW*, 13), while that in line 23 seems ■ have been marked by a discoloration in the papyrus, which the scribe would have tended to avoid. Several such stains mar the column of writing and the two intercolumnia, suggesting that the papyrus is of inferior quality. The space in line 17 could be fortuitous, or could have been reserved to ■ filled in later. The latter hypothesis would imply that the text was copied, and that the scribe left a blank where he failed to understand his exemplar. However, the repeated omission of single letters in the fragment (in lines 11, 13, 31, 35) weakens this hypothesis, for it seems unlikely that a scribe relying on an exemplar would have dispensed with so many letters or, had he relied on a poor model, would have left so many omissions uncorrected. Furthermore, the number and nature of the supralinear additions — by the same hand — combined with the unaccomplished character of the writing, suggest an author's manuscript with author variants.[7]

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[7] The following texts have at times been thought literary autographs:

P. Giss. 3 (=Pack² 1748; A.D. 117), celebrating the accession of Hadrian ("ob der Papyrus das Autograph selbst oder eine Abschrift davon darstellt, lässt sich freilich nicht entscheiden" [H. Maehler, in: *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin 1974), 363 n.1]).

P. Köln III 128 (1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.), an epigram with interlinear notes intended ■ amend the text or the meter (line 8).

PSI I 17 (3rd century A.D.), a collection of funerary epigrams, ■ which the variants added between the lines either correct the text (epigr. 2.7-8) or provide a completely different version ■ it (epigr. 3.5; 5.1).

P. Berol. Inv. 11632 (2nd century A.D.), a piece in prose on the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes (Schubart, *Buch*, 90, pl. 19), which bears many interlinear corrections, one of which is combined with the blotting of the deleted expression (col. 1.24).

The poems of Dioscorus of Aphrodito: e.g., P. Cairo Cat. J 67097 verso BC, an encomium on Athanasius (= Heitsch XLII 4), where the poet indicates his modifications of the text both through marginal and interlinear notes.

The elegy on old age of a certain Posidippus of Thebes (1st century A.D.; text written on wooden tablets): Heitsch I ("autographon est auctoris obscuri").

A. Carlini, 'Nuovi papiri fiorentini', *ASNP* 35 (1966), 5-11, a fragment of a hymn to Eirene (1st century A.D.).

The text bears numerous interlinear corrections or second thoughts. On three occasions words or groups of words are cancelled (in lines 1, 8, and 35) and alternatives written under or above the deleted expressions.[6] In other cases (in lines 7, 10, 12, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 34, and 36) suprascript amendments or variants are added without cancelling the original text. All of line 1 has been crossed out, and the use of εχθρου in line 8 suggests that this line could be a reworking of the preceding verse, which bears ἐχθρόν. In line 8 γοργοφόνε is cancelled, and its metrical equivalent ὁπλοφόρε written above it. This alteration avoids the repetition of γοργοκτόνε, used at the end of the same line. The substitution of γυμνάδος πόσιν (or ποσίν) for ἔνγαμον λαβεῖν in line 35 is suggestive of a possible rewriting of the entire line.

P. Oxy. VII 1015 (later 3rd century A.D.), an encomium on Theon, in which the alterations written by a second hand "may even have come from the author's own pen, if an *amanuensis* was employed for the body of the text" (A.S. Hunt, ed.). Now described "very probably author's autograph of what may be a prize poem" (Turner, *GMAW*, 90).

P. Russ. Georg. 1† (= Page, *Select Papyri* III nr. 129 = Heitsch LVI = D.F. Sutton, *Papyrological Studies in Dionysiac Literature* [Chicago 1987], pp. 63-106; 3rd century A.D.), a hymn to Dionysus, in which the textual variants are written in the margin, the right of the text (cf. Sutton especially p. 87).

P. Oxy. XXXVII 2816 (= SH 938; early 3rd century A.D.), a cosmogony.

P. Oxy. L 3537 (3rd-4th century A.D.), ethopoea and encomium, with suprascript corrections (e.g., recto fr. 2, lines 7 and 14) and cancellations (e.g., verso fr. 1, lines 17 and 18).

P. Oxy. L 3539 (3rd-4th century A.D.), melic verse with notation.

P. Oxy. LIII 3702 (2nd-3rd century A.D.), mythological compendium ("the manuscript could in fact be an autograph" [M.W. Haslam, ed.]).

P. Oxy. LIV 3723 (2nd century A.D.), poem in elegiacs about gods and their boy lovers ("the style of the poem might well suggest an amateur poet" [P.J. Parsons, ed.]).

P. Yale II 105 (= Pack² 2495;1st century A.D.), a rhetorical exercise.

P. Lond. 137 — the so-called Anonymous Londinensis — (no later than middle of the 2nd century A.D.) "seems to be the work of someone thinking about what he writes while writing" (D. Manetti, 'Doxographical Deformation of Medical Tradition in the Report of the Anonymus Londinensis on Philolaus', forthcoming in *ZPE* [1990, pp. 219-233, especially 221]).

[6] On ways of indicating deletions: Turner, *GMWA*, 16 and pls. 49, 50, 60.

Other interlinear additions — corrections or mere alternatives — are found at lines 7, 10, 12, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 34, and 36, but the idiosyncracies of the hand and the damaged surface of the papyrus limit their study and interpretation. In line 7, the variant στέφος, metrically identical to θάλος, may introduce an astronomical metaphor. The suprascript epithet in line 10 is perhaps meant as a way of both eliminating the hiatus and creating a tricolon identical to that in line 9. The addition of —ε ἐγ λο— above line 12 improves the text by introducing a vocative which is consistent with the rest of the passage and by inserting the preposition ἐκ for grammatical correctness, hence παρθέν' ἐκ λοχεύματος. The illegible addition above the end of line 17 may correct the unmetrical final phase. In line 21, the final ς of ἐμούς is added above the line. In line 22, the alternative [ς]ὲ γὰρ ἔχω κἀκεῖ πάλιν is metrically equivalent to the original text σὺ δὲ θεὰ παρίσταco. The doublet, however, is a less satisfactory phrase both because it involves the repetition of πάλιν (cf. line 25) and because it is not a common Greek idiom.[9] In line 24, α την, i.e. (δι)ὰ τὴν, possibly explains ἣν below. In line 29, λακωνι, i.e. λακωνί(δος), is intended to replace and, or, explain τῆς γυμνάδος; although λακωνίδος is metrically correct and a meaningful echo of λάκαιναν (cf. line 19 and, possibly, 23), it would perhaps be more satisfactory with an article. The intelligible part of the text above the end of line 34 implies that the supralineate addition could be an alternative for the entire original expression. All of line 36 seems to be a later addition, perhaps to fill an omission in the narrative.

Except for those changes emending the text for lexical variation (line 8), grammatical (lines 12 and 21) or metrical correctness (line 17), the purpose of the interlinear additions is unclear. Because they are written by the same hand as the main text, and — judging from the legible ones — usually echo the words or expressions above which they are placed, it is possible that the papyrus is the first draft of a text which the author modified during composition.

ει is written for ῑ in lines 4, 10, 13, 14, and 25, ε for αι in line 38, οι for ῳ in line 11, νγ for γγ in lines 9 and 35, and the nasal μ is inserted in the

[9] To turn the phrase into a Greek idiom, a second accusative should follow at the beginning of next line. The correction visible above the beginning of line 23, however, seems to preclude such a possibility.

aorist passive form of λαμβάνω in line 37.[10] These phenomena — common in papyri — reflect the author's written rendering of the spoken language of his day. In order to respect this feature as it appears in the poet's autograph, the spelling adopted both in the edited Greek text and in the commentary is not normalized except in the few cases where clarity demands it. *Scriptio plena* is found in lines 10 and 12, crasis in line 22, and elision in lines 16, 20, 24, and possibly in line 30.

Palaeography

The hand, crabbed, untidy, and semi-cursive, is in a highly personal style characteristic of manuscripts intended for private use.[11] It is not a book hand, nor does it resemble the cursive of professional scribes.

Dating is difficult because the script displays both early and late features. Letters reminiscent of the Ptolemaic *nu*, *eta*, *beta*,[12] and *kappa*[13] are found side by side with a very elongated *xi* (lines 3 and 6), doubtless of much later date; such a ξ is not to my knowledge attested in Ptolemaic papyri.[14] In the second

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[10] Respectively, Mayser I² 1, 66-68 and Gignac I, 189-190; Mayser I² 1, 85-86 and Gignac I, 191-193; Mayser I² 2, 115; Mayser I² 1, 151 2(a) and Gignac I, 170-171; Mayser I² 1, 166-167 and Gignac I, 188 and II, 269.

The unorthodox spellings are: ει for ι: ἡμεῖν (4), κρηπειδόσφυρε (10), (ε)θενείεττη (13), Τειτᾶνος (13), ἀκτεῖσι (14), φιλονείκοις (25); ε for αι: ἐκπορεύετε (38); οι for φ: οἴκησας (11); νγ for γγ: φένγασπι (9), ἔνγαμον (35); nasal μ: λημφθείς (37).

[11] The script recalls that of some *hypomnemata*: cf. Turner, *GMAW*, pls. 58 (1st century B.C.) and 60 (late 1st century A.D.).

[12] E.g., P. Amh. II 35 (= Schubart, *Palaeographie*, pl. 16; Seider, *Paläographie* I, nr. 14), dated to 132 B.C., bears similarly shaped η (Amh. 19, 22 = P. Köln VI 245, 2, 4, 5), ν (Amh. 23 = Köln 27; Amh. 22 = Köln 5, 14 where the resemblance between Amh. 22 μηνὸς and Köln 14 μήνης is striking), and β (Amh. 30 = Köln 34); also P. Heid. Inv. 1278 (Seider, *Paläographie* I, nr. 12) of 111 B.C.

[13] Seider, *Paläographie* I, nr. 4; P. Rev. col. 52 (259-258 B.C.), pl. 3(4), lines 9, 10, 11, 12 where the ductus of κ is the same as in P. Köln VI 245, lines 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, et *al*.

[14] Schubart's warning against the reliability of *xi* as a guide for dating (*Palaeographie*, 44-45) is pertinent when older forms of the letter occur together with more recent shapes of the same letter (*ibid*. pl. 20), but is less helpful when applied to *xi* whose ductus implies a much later date than that prompted by the general ap-

century B.C., *xi* evolves from a rigid rectilinear form ■ a curvilinear shape, a palaeographical change which at first involves only the shape of the letter, not its size. Signs of the development can be seen in UPZ I 114 of 150 B.C.[15] and in P. Ryl. II 73 dated to 33-30 B.C.[16] From the second century A.D. on, the letter becomes increasingly elongated with the final stroke descending to intrude upon the line below, as in P. Oxy. VII 1019 of the second-third century A.D.[17] The ξ in P. Köln VI 245 are of the latter type,[18] and therefore suggest an imperial date for the papyrus.

The treatment of the letter *nu* and the absence of *iota* adscripts imply a similar date. The resemblance which *nu* in this papyrus (e.g., lines 4, 6, 18, 29, 35, 36) bears with the Ptolemaic *nu* — a letter characterized by a last upright extending above the general line of writing — illustrates an archaizing feature progressively documented in the imperial era[19] and increasingly common in the third century A.D. and thereafter.[20] ■ addition, the omission of the *iota* adscript in the papyrus (at lines 18, 21, 32[?], 37), well attested as a sporadic but steadily spreading phenomenon in Ptolemaic texts (Mayser I[2] 1, 95-117), be-

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pearance of the text. Also, to Schubart's objection that ξ is a rare letter it is sufficient ■ point out that in ■ *Palaeographie* alone, 15 of the 21 papyri selected to illustrate Ptolemaic palaeography bear that letter.

[15] Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, pl. 21, line 4.

[16] Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, pl. 29, line 18. Also: Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, pl. 28 (67 B.C.), line 10; Seider, *Paläographie* I, nr. 25 (A.D. 54-67), line 21.

[17] Turner, *GMAW*, pl. 66, lines 4 and 15. Also: Roberts, *Hands*, pl. 13a (A.D. 125), lines 4, 10; Seider, *Paläographie* I, nr. 36 (A.D. 196), line 10; Schubart, *Palaeographie*, pls. 38 (A.D. 212), line 18, and 40 (end of 2nd century A.D.), line 3; Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, pls. 47 (A.D. 108) line 10, 52 (A.D. 146), line 9, and 78 (A.D. 266-267), line 11; Seider, *Paläographie* I, nr. 43 (A.D. 218), lines 6 and 8 provide a close parallel for line 3 of the Cologne text.

[18] Cf. W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (Bonn 1911), pl. 25 (A.D. 155).

■ Schubart, *Palaeographie*, pl. 41 (A.D. 179), lines 2, 4, 6, 7. Also: J. P. Gumbert, 'Structure and Forms of the Letter ν in Greek Documentary Papyri: a Palaeographical Study', *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* 14 (1965), 5-7. Several τ in P. Köln VI 245 also recall the three stroke ductus of the Ptolemaic letter (e.g., τινί in line 21, ἐκπορεύετε in line 38).

[20] Schubart, *Palaeographie*, 69; also *ibid.* pl. 44 (A.D. 206), line 15.

comes frequent in the first and second centuries A.D. and common practice from then on (Gignac I, 183).

The palaeographical examination of the fragment therefore suggests that the text be dated to the third century A.D., and the general impression of the manuscript possibly favors a later date. Its style resembles that of P. Mich. III 143, probably the class preparation of a *grammaticus*, written in the third century A.D.[21]

Metrical Analysis

The text is written in iambic trimeters, except for line 5 which preserves an iambic dimeter. This probably is an incomplete verse.[22] The author observed Porson's law (see p. [illegible] on line 29). Several long syllables (principes) are resolved in accordance with tragic conventions. In lines 9 (| φένγαcπι δρακοντόcτηθε), 16 (| cὺ κυρεῖc), 11 (-—-— γὰρ ἄνυμφον), 36 (——⏑ τότε τοῦτον), and possibly 40 (×—⏑ μητε[-] cυγενου[c) the first breve (9) and the first (16) and second anceps (11, 36, 40) seem to be substituted by two shorts. In tragedy, such substitutions are permitted only in the first anceps if the word is longer than two syllables (⏑⏑—), and in the other positions the two shorts must belong to proper names of at least three syllables.[23] Line 16 (⏑'⏑ —) may have been regarded by the poet as a unit ('Wortbild', cὺ κυρεῖc); the freer usage of comedy would find no fault with this phrase at the beginning of the line, nor would the pyrrhic τότε be abnormal in 36 since it starts with the new foot.[24] But the two

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[21] Especially lines 12, 16, 17. Cf. Sir E. Turner, D.H. Fowler, L. Koenen, and L.C. Youtie, 'Euclid, Elements I, Definitions 1-10 (P. Mich. III 143)', *YCS* 28 (1984), 13-24. See also *P. Coll. Youtie* 66, dated to A.D. 253-260, B (recto col. ii), line 23.

[22] Cp. the unfinished lines in Vergil and see, e.g., O. Walter, *Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (Diss. Giessen 1933); K. Büchner, 'P. Vergilius Maro', *RE* 2. Reihe, 16 (1958), 1424-1428; T. Berres, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (Hermes Einzelschr. 45, Wiesbaden 1982).

[23] West, *Metre*, 81-82; cf. Snell, *Metrik*, 13.

[24] See M. West's definition of the 'split anapaest': "one of the short syllables ends a word or word-group that begins in a preceding foot" (88, cf. 90); this is based on P. Maas' definition: "Nach keinem der so enstehenden Elemententeile (i.e. by substitution of one of the two first brevia or any anceps) soll ein vom vorhergehenden Elemente herüberreichendes Wortbild schließen" (*Metrik*, § 111).

remaining examples that are textually clear (9 and 11) would be avoided even in comedy as they produce 'split anapaests'. That the practice of our late author is less strict than that of the classical Attic tragedians may not be surprising.[25] But even greater caution is needed, for a specific feature of the pronunciation of contemporary vernacular Greek, namely the tendency to drop nasals in particular before mutes [redacted] internal position,[26] makes the two lines metrically acceptable. The phenomenon could account for scanning line φένγαcπι δρακοντόc̣τ̣ηθε (9) as ––– ‑‑ | – – ‑ and ἄνυφε (for ἄνυμφε) καὶ γὰ̣ρ̣ ἄνυμφον (11) as ‑–‑– | ‑ ‑‑ ‑, both with resolved second and third longum respectively.[27]

The second case (line 11), however, is more complicated. While the spelling ανυφε for ἄνυμφε witnesses the disappearance of nasals in spoken language and allows the scansion of ἄνυμφον as three shorts, it also attests the poet's awareness that the syllable -νυ- of ανυφε [redacted] metrically long. He felt free to treat the sequence of nasal plus mute consonant according to metrical convenience. The nasal could either close the preceding short syllable or, if taken with the following consonant, disappear, thus releasing the preceding syllable.[28] Insofar as the treatment of nasal + mute is similar [redacted] that of muta + liquida, this group is usually treated by the author [redacted] single consonant within a word (in lines 4 ἔπνευcε, 14 κύκλα, 15 διπλαῖc, 21 πέπλ̣[ο]υc), while once it lengthens the preceding vowel (10 εὔοπλε), all in accordance with the conventions of classical tragedy.[29]

Cf. Handley, *Dyscolos*, 63-66; W.S. Allen, *Accent and Rhythm* (Cambridge 1973), 331-332.

[25] Cf. Maas, *Metrik*, § 114; West, *Metre*, 159-160 and 183-184.

[26] Gignac I, 116-117. The same phenomenon also occurs with nasals at word end; in most examples, however, the word ending with a nasal forms a unit ('Wortbild') with the following word (article, preposition, particle, conjunction; Gignac I, 110f.). Final nasals also disappear before words beginning with liquids, nasals, and sibilants, and before vowels (Gignac I, 112; for the disappearance of nasals in other internal collocations also see *ibid.* 117-118).

[redacted] With this explanation I follow [redacted] Parsons' advice (*per litteram*). The fact that in δρακοντόc̣τ̣ηθε (9) the two shorts are formed by unaccented syllables does not provide an explanation; see ἄνυμφον (11).

[redacted] Given the fact that the papyrus [redacted] an autograph and that the author lacks talent, a conjectural approach (ἄνυ(μ)φε κἄνυμφον γὰρ– – –) is less convincing (see below p. 37).

[29] [redacted] Hermann, *Silbenbildung im Griechischen und in den andern indogermanischen Sprachen* (Göttingen 1923), 106; K. Latte, 'Ein antikes Gygesdrama', *Eranos* 48 (1950), 138; Snell, *Metrik*, 55; West, *Metre*, 16-17.

Actual pronounciation could also help explain what seems to be scazon: ὀργήν (line 17). But in the Greek spoken in Egypt, the liquid ρ is frequently omitted before and after mutes and "many writers failed to pronounce a liquid before or after a stop consonant".[31] Again, this linguistic fact is reflected in the metrical usage of our author. He may have felt free to use this phenomenon as prosodical licence but, in the end, decided against it and changed θεῶν ὀργήν to βυθῶν πλάνος (or something similar; see pp. 53-54). However it is by no means certain that his correction was prompted by ὀργήν.

All verses sufficiently preserved (36 lines) have either penthemimeral caesura before the third princeps (66.7%) or hephthemimeral caesura before the fourth princeps (44.4%), or not rarely both (13.9%).[32] Line 7, one of the five lines displaying both caesurae, gives equal weight to each of them: κρατὸς λόχευμα, Παλλάδος, οὐρανοῦ θάλος (or στέφος), whereas in the other cases either the penthemimeral (lines 3, 15, 37) or the hephthemimeral caesura (13) is strengthened by syntax. In line 3, there is most likely antilabe at the penthemimeral caesura.[33] It is remarkable that no other caesura seems to occur. In Aeschylus the penthemimeral and hephthemimeral caesurae appear in 35.5% and 25.5% of his verses respectively, in Sophocles in 35% and 22%, and in Euripides in 46% and 12%.[34] The relatively high rate of hephthemimeral caesurae in our fragment is surprising.

The late tendency to avoid an accented syllable at the end of the trimeter is evidenced in our tragedy, but not strictly observed. Such verse-end occurs in 19.3% of the lines, compared to 27-33% in Attic tragedy; the figure for Lucian is 21.1%. Proparoxytone ending occurs also in 19.3% of our lines, roughly what should be expected at this late date.[35]

[30] Cf. Korzeniewski, *Metrik*, 61-63.

[31] Gignac I, 103ff., especially 108. γ, too, was occasionally omitted (Gignac I, 73-74), but this phenomenon seems to have been much less influenced by the surrounding consonants.

[32] The lines with both caesurae are counted in each of these percentage calculations. I do not recognize a hephthemimeral caesura in line 16.

[33] Below, p. 22 on line 3. For antilabe in tragedy see Korzeniewski, *Metrik*, 46.

[34] These statistics, based on samples only, are borrowed from Korzeniewski, *Metrik*, 45.

[35] Accented verse endings occur in lines 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, and 35; proparoxytone endings in 9, 10, 12, 22, 34, and 38. Cf. West, *Metre*, 184-185.

The fragment preserves three iambic trimeters each consisting of three words only (lines 9, 10, 12[36]). Following M. Marcovich's nomenclature, these lines respectively display twice (9 and 10) the TWT shape 345 (preferred by Sophocles, the comic playwrights and Lycophron) and once (12) the shape 525.[37] εὔοπλε καὶ ἀρσενωπὲ κρηπεδόσφυρε (line 9) is a heavy dodecasyllable composed of three compounds. The only other trimeter displaying such structure listed by Marcovich is Lycophron 846: λαμπτηροκλέπτης τριπλανοῦς ποδηγίας.[38] The compound adjectives in line 9 of our text have increasing length (shape 345), while the structure of Lycophron's line is less readily noticeable (shape 534). The frequency ratio of TWTs in the new text is 1:13.6 vs. 1:19 in Constantius Manasses, *Hodoiporicon*, 1:23.3 in Ephraim, *Caesares*, and 1:24 in Lycophron – to mention three works which display a similar frequency. Such predilection for TWTs is characteristic of late trimeters. As a comparison it may be noted that in *Septem* Aeschylus uses TWTs at a frequency ratio of 1:36.2, while in *Agamemnon* he restricts their frequency to a ratio of 1:178; Euripides' ratio in *Phoenissae* is 1:131 and in *Hecuba* 1:911 (1 line in the entire play, as also in *Heracleidae*). Sophocles writes such lines even more sparingly: at a ratio of 1:203 in *Ajax* and 1:952 in *Trachiniae* (1 line in the entire play).[39]

[36] ■. Marcovich would not regard this line (ἀπαρθενεύτου παρθέν' ἐγ λοχεύματος) as a three-word trimeter, since "proclitics and other non-accented prepositives most probably have been felt by the Greeks as being *independent words*, to the extent that the tragic line closes with prepositives often enough" (*TWT* 10). Since, on the other hand, prepositives frequently form 'Wortbild' (Maas, *Metrik*, § 135), it seems safer to include this line in the discussion of TWTs.

[37] Marcovich defines a three-word trimeter or TWT, as "an iambic trimeter consisting of three words only" in which "two words in crasis are counted as one single word and a monosyllabic word in elision is taken as part of the following word"; he also includes lines "with one monosyllabic enclitic as the fourth word" (*TWT*, 9-10). Also, "the term *TWT shape* refers to the number of metrical *positions* in each one of the three words of the line, not to the number of their syllables" (*TWT*, 11); hence resolutions of longa and substitutions of brevia and ancipitia by two shorts are counted as one metrical position. For example, line 9 φέγγασι, δρακοντόστηθε, δορατοδέξιε, in accordance with our assumption of unspoken nasals (above), is analyzed as – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –, i.e. a line in which the three words fill 3, 4, and 5 positions; this shape is then noted as 345. For synoptic tables of frequency, see *TWT*, 160-161, 166, 199ff. Also S. L. Schein, *The Iambic Trimeter in Aeschylus and Sophocles. A Study in Metrical Form* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 6. Leiden 1979), 59-60.

[38] Marcovich, *TWT*, 181: "The only TWT/D with three compounds known to me is Lycophron 846".

However, the restricted number of lines extant in the Cologne papyrus and the fact that its three TWTs occur in an invocation to Athena, a particularly suitable context for such stylistic orgy, preclude any conclusion regarding the frequency of TWTs throughout the lost work.

* *
*

The new poet may not have been brilliant, but he understood his craft. Familiar with classical conventions, he exploited licences which the development of the language at his time and [redacted] Egypt had made possible. Furthermore, in a work much inspired by the rich mythical and literary traditions of Attic drama, he also subscribed to the literary taste and the trends of his age. Lastly, the long prayer [redacted] Athena cosmocrator, bombastic as it may seem to a modern reader, may reflect the religious forces suffusing a society which had been fashioned by Greek as well as by oriental experiences and in which pagan beliefs were competing with the Christian faith in a single almighty god.[40]

Edition of the Text

1. Diplomatic Text

col. I		col II	col. III
]		[... α[ ]εχθρονπολεμι ... [ ]	
]πε		ηπαιδασεχθρους ... μι ας φαλ μο [	
]α		εκφευξομαι[ ]παντα πειρω ε ι	
]	4	οδμητις ειν πιθανεπνευσεθε[ ] εμ [	
]		φωνηπροσηλθεπροσφιλης vacat	
]			

[39] Synopses of frequency of TWTs are found in Marcovich, *TWT*, 17, 44, [redacted]-70, and 190-211.

[40] This topic will come up at several places in the commentary on the prayer (see below pp. 26, 48-52 and 91); also see L. Koenen, 'How Dualistic [redacted] Mani's Dualism?', *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis, Atti del Secondo Simposio Internazionale* (Cosenza 1988), ed. L. Cirillo (Cosenza 1990), 1-34, esp. 31ff.

2. Edited Text

col. II

[.....α[..] ἐχθρὸν πολεμι.....ρ...[ ]
η παῖδας ἐχθρους....μι ας φαλ...μον[
ἐκφεύξομαι [δ]ὴ πάντα...πειρω ε ι
ὁδμή τις ἡμεῖν πιθάν' ἔπνευσε θε[ ]ε μ[
φωνὴ προσῆλθε προσφιλής ( )

]φαν ωτειχοcουκαδοξον νεc. ενθεοιcμεγα
cτεφαc
]τα κρατοcλοχευμαπαλλαcουρανουθαλοc
]λενη πελοφορε
][[αι]] 8 [[γοργοφονε]] καιλοιγωπεκαιγοργοκτονε
]φε φενγαcπιδρακοντοcτηθεδορατοδεξιε
ωρθειε
] ευοπλεκα cενωπεκρηπειδοcφυρε
]c ανυφεκαιγα ανυμφονοικηcαcτοπον
εγλο
] 12 απαρθενευτουπαρθενοcλοχευματοc [
] φερειcθενει τηπαντατειτανοcβολαc
] ακτειcικεφα ηcειτακαιμηνηcκυκλα
] θειαιcπαρε cκοcμονωλεναιcδιπλαιc
16 cυκυρειcταπα τα νεc διαcεδειcορωφαοc
βυθων πλα c
cουμοι νεc. ελα[ ]φυγοιμικαιθεωνοργην
δυναμει.δετ[ ]cηκαιτονυνθαρρcωνπερω
γραφαcκομιζ[ ] προcλακαινανειcφρυγαc
20 απανταδραc[ ] αθοδοναλλαξωτυπουc [
c
κρυψωπεπλ[ ]υcδετουcεμουθαμνωτινι [
[ ] γαρεχωκακαιπαλιν
θαρρωναπε[ ]ιcυδεθεαπαριcταcο [
κ ν νεc. δει [c[
δει νεc. ακαι [ ]προcπλακεντα[[
ατην[
24 [ ] διην [ ]ατα ε[
[ ]εcχατον[ ] φιλονεικοιcπαλιν α[
[ ]αδοcα[ ]ιπονηλυθεντελοc ελ[
] [ ]ευγενηcτρωωνπολιc ο [
28]δεγ ο αcιον αν[
λακωνι
[ ]υcινε [ ]νεινεκεντηcγυμναδοc [

ὦ τεῖχος οὐκ ἄδοξον, ἐν θεοῖς μέγα,
κρατὸς λόχευμα, Παλλάς, οὐρανοῦ θάλος,
[γοργοφόνε] καὶ λοιγωπὲ καὶ γοργοκτόνε,
φένγαεπι, δρακοντόςτηθε, δορατοδέξιε,
εὔοπλε καὶ ἀρενωπέ, κρηπειδόσφυρε,
ἄνυμφε — καὶ γὰρ ἄνυμφον οἴκησας τόπον —
ἀπαρθενεύτου παρθέν᾽ ε ἐγ᾽ λοχεύματος,
φέρεις, (ε)θενείςτη πάντα, Τειτᾶνος βολὰς
ἀκτεῖει κεφαλῆς, εἶτα καὶ μήνης κύκλα
θείαις παρειαῖς, κόσμον ὠλέναις διπλαῖς.
cὺ κυρεῖς τὰ πάντα, διὰ cὲ δ᾽ εἰcορῶ φάος,
cοῦ μοι [π]έλα[c] φύγοιμι καὶ θεῶν ὀργήν,
δυνάμει ■ τ[ῆ] cῇ καὶ τὸ νῦν θαρρ[c]ῶν περῶ
γραφάς κομίζ[ω]ν πρὸς Λάκαιναν εἰς Φρύγας.

■ ἅπαντα δράc[ω]· καθ᾽ ὁδὸν ἀλλάξω τύπους,
κρύψω πέπλ[ο]υς ■ τοὺς ἐμοὺ̀c᾽ θάμνῳ τινί.
θαρρῶν ἅπε[ιμ]ι· cὺ ■ θεὰ παρίcταco.
..δει ακαι [ ] κροcπλακέντα[
..{ } δι᾽ ἣν ..[ ]ατα
[ ] ἔcχατον { } φιλονείκοις πάλιν
[ ]αδος α[ ]ιπον ἦλυθεν τέλος
} [ ] εὐγενὴς Τρώων πόλις
]δεγ ο αcιον
[ ]υcιν εχ[ ]ν εἵνεκεν τῆς γυμνάδος

	[ ]δοςγαρει παρ[ ]ιθελει τοςφα[	εα[
	[ ]ετοξοιςτοιςφλοκτητο[ ]τοτε	πακ[
32	[ ]δ[ ]νηγυμνασηφρυγ[ ]τυχη	τ[
	[ ]ενοςαυτηνηθελησεπροςγαμους	λαιτ[
	[ ]καιδηιφοβος ηδεβαρβαρος	τιδε[
	[ ]ν ηθελησε[ενγαμονλαβειν]	[
36	[ ]νδροσπατηρτοτετουτονηνεσενγαμον	γρε[
	[ ]γηδελημφ celενοσωσυβριζμενος	παν[
	[ ]τομολοσει[ ] ληναςεκπορευετε	
	[ ]μαχοσεπ[ ]ωντισφρυγωνελπις[ ]	
40	[ ]ειθεμητε[ ]ευγενου[ ]αυτησπαρ[	
	[ ]μ α [ ] μητε [ ] ενελλα [ ]ς	
	[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]	

Palaeographical Apparatus

Π 1. line cancelled [illegible], first letter possibly κ perhaps initially written η, then a rising curve followed by two legs, then high trace, ε or loop of α, followed by two uprights, the latter with a horizontal ▩ its right, left-hand half of top-bar of following τ or joining stroke with following γ α[ ], speck below lower tip of tail of α μι, top and base of round letter (ο, ω); then illegible traces of 6 letters ρ [illegible] ί, descender of ρ crossed below loop by cancellation line; horizontal sitting on short upright, γ, or τ, then elongated loop of possible α, followed by ε or τ with parting top and high oblique stroke (perhaps tail of α).

2. εχθρους [illegible], horizontal above round letter or foot of upright followed by upright, e.g., cancelled οι, or π, ει, τι; low circular speck with short vertical stroke above it, then high trace joining stroke sloping down to right; letter before μ indistinguishable μι, ας, α, δ, ▩ φαλ, short horizontal stroke above two uprights (cancellation mark?), the latter with foot curving to right (ς?) λ, horizontal with tip curving upward, possibly right-hand half of ω (η excluded) μο[, part of a descender suggests μ, ν, ρ, ι.

[ ] δος γὰρ εις παρ[ ]ι θέλει τοςφα[

[ ]ε τόξοις τοῖς Φ(ι)λοκτήτο[υ] τότε.

32 [ ]ε δε[ι]νὴ γυμνάςῃ Φρύγ[ας] Τύχη

[Ἕλ]ενος αὐτὴν ἠθέληςε πρὸς γάμους
ὁ δὲ προ ας ςτρατο[

[ ]καὶ Δηίφοβος. ἡ δὲ βάρβαρος
] [ ] ἥρπαςε γυμνάδος ποςιν

[ ] ν ἠθέληςε(ν) [ἔνγαμον λαβεῖν]

36 [τά]νδρὸς πατὴρ τότε τοῦτον ᾔνεςεν γάμον.

[ὀρ]γῇ δὲ λημφθεὶς Ἕλενος ὡς ὑβριςμένος

[αὐ]τόμολος εἰ[ς] Ἕλληνας ἐκπορεύεται

[ςύ]μμαχος ἐπ[ελθ]ών· τίς Φρυγῶν ἐλπὶς [ ]

40 [ ]ειθε μήτε [ ]ευγενου[ς τ]αύτης παρ[

[ ]μ α [ ] μήτε [ ] εν Ἑλλάδ[ο]ς

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [

3. After εκφευξομαι, upper left side and right-hand corner of possible δ, followed by upright and trace of joining crossbar, η, ε, e.g., δη, δε παντα, unidentifiable traces of 3 or 4 letters ω ε ι, speck below line of writing, followed by speck on line of writing, then tip of stroke slanting upward just before ε, then upright, the top of which joins stroke slanting upward.

4. οδμη, ink across two last letters ειν, two uprights joined by crossbar, η or ει, then curving trace on broken fibers and high speck on right edge of break in papyrus; upright and cross-stroke with rubbed trace above, ε, followed by descender written in two strokes, ι but not ρ [ ], lower part of upright with foot curving to right, followed by τ or ν.

6. After αδοξον, a blank space the width of one letter, possibly punctuation.

10. κα, points of low ink, then high trace on right edge of break (possibly part of suprascript). Suprascript: , αλ or αμ not ruled out, then high speck on upper edge of torn fibers ωρθειε, possibly λ, ρ, τ, π.

13. ι, tip of upright slanting upward (ς, κ, υ).

16. After παντα, a blank space the width of one letter (punctuation?).

17. Suprascript: ηλο̣ c, πλα fits the traces well. The thick vertical stroke of the following letter looks like part of a large γ, but ν is not impossible. Depending on how the presumed ν was written, the following dot is either part of this ν or an ο. Sigma at the end ■ certain (πλανος?)

18. Dot on line of writing after δυναμει (punctuation?).

19. ⌋, low and high specks.

20. ⌋, top of rising oblique, κ acceptable.

21. εμου̣θαμνω, Austin ("above the upsilon, there is a trace of ink which harmonizes with faint contours of ε"); suggested also by Kannicht, Haslam, Lloyd-Jones, and West.

22. Suprascript: ⌋, ■ or ε.

23. δ, curve sloping downward followed by top of upright, ο, δ, perhaps ε followed by ι, or right-hand half of top-bar of τ ligatured ■ α εἰ, rising oblique, median stroke of ν or left leg of λ ⌊, low dot of ink νται, individually uncertain, but combination unavoidable. Suprascript: κεν, κον, κων ⌊, horizontal above top-bar of possible γ and parallel to it (correcting γ into π ?), then oblique trace.

■. ην, possibly cancelled ⌊, upright at right angle with traces of short horizontal, possibly γ, then half loop (ο, ν) followed by stroke slanting upward (μ, ν).

25. ⌋, speck followed by foot of upright.

26. ος̣α[, curved trace, then low speck followed by foot of oblique.

■. ⌋, median dot of ink followed by oblique, then stroke curving right into following upright, possibly ι ligatured to preceding unidentifiable letter, or η missing upright γ, γ or τ, then ■ or α, or π followed by long descender (ι, ρ) traces of following five letters harmonize with τουτο but could also be read ρωντο, ρουτο, ρουσα ο, short horizontal followed by rounded trace; tear ■ papyrus; round speck ligatured to horizontal (ε, α); top-bar above two uprights.

29. ⌊, crossing and left-hand half of χ.

30. ⌋, specks of possible ε, ι εἰ, short horizontal above low curve (ε) ρ[⌋ι, trace to left at top of upright reveals presence of letter ligatured to ι, unless ι in fact belongs to final ν (παρ[ι]ν?) φα[, several letters presumably disappeared with upper layer of fibers.

■. ⌋, only specks (ε, κ, ν, β, θ).

32.]̣, high trace of tip of stroke (ε, c) ▪[̣ dot of ink on line of writing, then tear the width of one letter.

33.]ε, faded tips of top- and middle-bars.

34. After δηιφοβος, blank space the width of one letter (punctuation?). Suprascript: προ̣, τλ or κ.

35.]ν, horizontal, possibly right-hand half top-bar of τ or tail of c ̣η, faint speck followed by round trace and horizontal above it (α, γ, ot). Suprascript: [ ]̣, unidentifiable traces followed by descender (ι, ▪ αει, two legs, lower half of η or π, then high speck followed by descending stroke of letter to which traces on other edge of tear possibly belong ε, inevitable but not prompted by rubbed off traces blank space the width of one letter before γυμνάδος.

36. πατηρ, of τ, tips of top-bar on either edge of tear; second leg of η and descender of ρ overlap τε, only right-hand tip of top-bar.

37. φ̣, top of curving stroke followed by short horizontal, possibly end of cross-stroke (θ), then top of upright followed by low trace (ει unavoidable).

38.]̣, two parallel specks followed by oblique (tips of κ and tail of λ).

39. π[, short horizontal ▪ right angle with upright secures reading επ against ει [ ], upright ▪ right angle with following stroke (γ, η, π), then oblique sloping downward to right (tail of α) intersected by descender of probable ρ; then two specks on upper edge of torn fibers.

41. μ̣α, μειια, μενα, μειαδ (West), μνα, μητα ε[, half circle (ε, ω) / α[ ], three specks followed by horizontal stroke, tips of top and left angles of possible δ, then part of loop (ο, α) and tail (α, ε).

III 20. Only a small portion of part of a horizontal stroke ▪ visible beneath line 20 and extending into the left margin; its identification ▪ paragraphus is not entirely certain.

Translation

(4) A fragrance has reached us with its persuasive breath, and the friendly voice of my / a goddess comes ▪ my ears.

(6) O imposing wall, glorious among the gods, offspring of the head, Pallas, child (crown) of the sky, arms bearing, whose eyes spread ruin, Gorgon killer (bearer of arms), with a shield of light, serpents on your chest, a spear ▪ your right hand, you (10) well armed and manly faced, wearing boots about your

ankles, you, unmarried — for in fact you have settled [illegible] a place that is unsuited for brides — maiden born from a virginal birth, you bear, almighty, the beams of the sun [illegible] the radiance of your head, further the disk of the moon (15) on your divine cheeks, and the world in your two hands. You are everything, thanks to you I see the light of life. With you at my side I would avoid the wrath of the gods (I, a wanderer, would escape even from the depths). And by aid of your power I also go through today's trial with confidence as I bring letters to the Laconian woman in Troy.

(20) I shall do everything: on my way I shall alter my features and hide my clothes under a bush. I leave with confidence and you, goddess, [illegible] [illegible] my side (for I rely on you also there again).

(24) ... she, because of whom ... (25) ... because of rivalry again (26) ... the end has come (27) ... the noble city of the Trojans (29) ... on account of the trained (Laconian) woman. (31) He then fell under the bow and arrows of Philoctetes (32) a dreadful fate ... harass ... the Trojans (33) Then Helenus wanted to marry her, and so too did Deiphobus. But when the barbarian woman wished to get married [illegible] the latter, the man's father then consented to this marriage. (37) Seized by anger, Helenus, at this insult, left and deserted to the Greeks, and went to them as an ally. What hope was left to the Trojans?

Chapter II

Commentary

The text begins with what are probably the final lines of a scene, perhaps in dialogue form. The previous passage, now lost, may have been an invocation to Athena, a conversation with her following her epiphany, or a disclosure directed to the audience in which the speaker recounted the goddess' instructions to steal the Palladium for the Greeks, her promise of assistance in that venture and her prophecy of success.

The physical damage in lines 1-2 prevents the identification of the speaker. If female, the character could be Athena, if male, Odysseus could be the plausible interlocutor. The goddess herself seemingly intervenes in line 3.

1-3 [ ]α[ ]ἐχθρὸν πολεμι[ ]ρ[ ]
η παῖδας ἐχθρους[ ]μι ας φαλ[ ]μον[
ἐκφεύξομαι [δ]ἠ πάντα[ ]πειρω ε ι

1 e.g. ἦ πάντα [γ'] ἐχθρὸν πολέμι[ον] or [ἄγα]ν ἐχθρὸν πολέμι[ον] Parca : κτανόντα γ[ε] ἐχθρὸν πολέμιον Gronewald

2 e.g. ἦ (or ἦ ?) παῖδας ἐχθρους Πριαμίδας Austin ϲφαλῶ (ϲ of ϲφαλῶ perhaps corrected from β) Maresch μόν[ος Parca

3 πάντα δ[ι]απειρῶ ϲ[θ]έν[ε]ι Maresch, μένι (= μένει) Parca

(2) "Or shall I alone trip up the hateful sons of Priam?"

(3) "Indeed, I will escape." — "Do attempt everything through your strength."

All of line 1 has been cancelled. The use of ἐχθρους in line 2 suggests that this line could be a reworking of the preceding one, which contains εχθρον. Priam and his sons would be hateful to a Greek (Odysseus) or a Greek sympathizer (Athena, Antenor).

The term μόν[ος suggests a religious experience similar to that of Mani when he apprehends confronting the kings and powers of this world (CMC 31,

1-5; 102, 8-11; 103, 19-104, 10; Koenen-Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Codex* [Papyr. Colon. 14, Opladen 1988]).

ἐκφεύγω is commonly used in connection with death (Hom., *Il.* 21.66, *Od.* 4.502; Hes., F 76.2 M.-W.; Pind., *Ol.* 10.42; Eur., *Tro.* 597), evil (Aesch., *Sept.* 1044), grief (Theogn. 742; Soph., *O.T.* 40), or necessity (Aesch., *Ag.* 902). The particle δή here combines a connective function (Denniston, 236-237) with the indication of strong emotion (Denniston 214, 8.1). Cf. Eur., *Androm.* 510; *Hipp.* 1093: φευξάμεσθα δὴ κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας ("We shall indeed be banished from famous Athens").

The confident declaration ἐκφεύξομαι could allude to Odysseus' successful flight from Troy following his mission. Austin punctuates line 3 ἐκφεύξομαι δή· — (Ἀθ.) πάντα διαπειρῶ μένει in support of the very attractive suggestion that Athena addresses Odysseus. Indeed, the allusion to a friendly voice in line 5 cannot be understood unless Athena has spoken before.

The paragraphus below line 3 indicates a change of speaker either within the line or at the end of it. If the suggestion that line 3 be divided between Odysseus and Athena is correct, a dicolon (:) signalling the second alternation in the dialogue may be expected (see below p. 79). Examination of the original, however, does not reveal any trace of a diacritical sign after δή, nor after μένει. But this means little in a papyrus in which no dicolon is extant (see pp. 2-3). For alternative interpretations of this paragraphus see p. 2 with n. 5 and pp. 78-83).

4-22

Odysseus is on stage. The reference to a divine smell in line 4 suggests the appearance of Athena and Odysseus' recognition of her presence; theatrical convention does not allow him to see the goddess, but she may be visible to the audience. If scent and voice come from the same source as in Aesch., *Prom.* 115, the φωνή alluded to in line 5 emanates from Athena. The hymn to Pallas in lines 6-16 ends with a prayer (lines 17-18). After delivering lines 19-22 Odysseus leaves the stage (ἔπε̣[ιμ]ι, line 22).

4-5 ὀδμή τις ἡμεῖν πιθάν' ἔπνευσε θε[ ] ▪ [
φωνὴ προσῆλθε προσφιλής ( )

4 θε[ᾶ]ς τ' ἐμῆ[ς or θε[ᾶ]ς τ' ἐμο[ῖ Parca
5 ⟨δι' αἰθέρος⟩ or ⟨ἐξ αἰθέρος⟩ e.g. Austin (cf. Eur., *Bacch.* 1078)

"A fragrance has reached us with its persuasive breath, and the friendly voice of my (a) goddess comes ■ my ears."

The shift from plural (ἡμεῖν) ■ singular (ἐμ̣ῆ̣[ς, ἐμο[ὶ), and vice versa, in phrases referring ■ an individual is well documented in tragedy: e.g., Eur., *I.T.* 576: τί δ' ἡμεῖς οἵ τ' ἐμοὶ γεννήτορες; *Tro.* 904: ὡς οὐ δικαίως ἦν θάνω, θανούμεθα; Cf. Kühner-Gerth II 1, 84.

In scenes involving a divine apparition, the characters do not see the gods when they appear on the stage but become aware of their presence by their voice. So does the Sophoclean Ajax:[1]

ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας, φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς εὐμαθές σου, κἂν ἄποπτος ᾖς ὅμως
φώνημ' ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενί (14-16)

"Voice of Athena, dearest utterance of all the gods to me — I cannot see you, and yet how clearly I can catch your words."

In the *Rhesus*, also, Odysseus becomes aware of Athena's presence through her voice:

δέσποιν' Ἀθάνα, φθέγματος γὰρ ᾐσθόμην
τοῦ σοῦ συνήθη γῆρυν· (608-609)

"Athena, mistress, for I recognized your voice and way of speaking that I know so well."

Even ■ tragic epilogues, in scenes where a character reacts ■ the unexpected intervention of a *deus ex machina* and almost engages ■ a dialogue with the divinity, ■ is unclear whether the actor sees the epiphany (Eur., *Helen* 1680-1687). In some instances, reference is made ■ the god's voice only, as in Soph., *Phil.* 1445-1447, or Eur., *Orestes* 1668-1670. In Callimachus' *Pannychis* it is through the sound of his lyre, either as a substitute for or as an accompaniment of his own voice, that Apollo reveals his presence ■ the poet: Ἔνεστ' Ἀπόλλων τῷ χορῷ· τῆς λύρης ἀκούω (F 227.1 Pf.).

Fragrance can also signify divine apparition: Aesch., *Prom.* 115: τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής ("What sound, what sightless smell approach-

[1] Cf. J.C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles. I. The Ajax* (Leiden 1953), 22.

es me?") announces the chorus of Oceanus' daughters, and Eur., *Hipp.* 1391: ▪ θεῖον ὀδμῆς πνεῦμα ("O divine fragrance!") introduces Artemis. Athena's apparition to Aelius Aristides in a dream is also made clear by ▪ most pleasant odor: ἀπῶζεν δὲ καὶ τῆς αἰγίδος ὅτι ἥδιστον (48.41 Keil). The context of the reference to a breath in the 'Strobilos papyrus', CGFP 244.355 Austin: — Στρόβιλε — Ἀπολλον καὶ θεοί, τοῦ πνεύματος, suggests that the breath implies a divine presence as well.[2] Also illustrative ▪ the messenger-speech heralding Peisthetaerus and his bride in the closing scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*, which at once parodies the conventions of hymeneal poetry and pokes fun at the *topos* of divine apparition through smell: ὀσμὴ δ' ἀνωνόμαστος ἐς βάθος κύκλου | χωρεῖ, καλὸν θέαμα· θυμιαμάτων δ' | αὖραι διαψαίρουσι πλεκτάνην καπνοῦ (1715-1717) ("Up to Heaven's highest vault, sweet sight, ascends fragrance ineffable; while gentlest airs the fume of incense scatter far and wide"). Cf. Lohmeyer, *Wohlgeruch*, 4-7; A.S. Pease, 'Some Aspects of Invisibility', *HSCP* 53 (1942), 1-6; Bühler, *Europa*, 140 n. 1; Barrett, *Hippolytos*, on 1391; Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, 252.

The gods' scent is unmistakable and naturally charming. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Apollo's arrival on Cyllene spreads a sweet fragrance over the hill (ὀδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα δι' οὔρεος ἡγαθέοιο | κίδνατο, 231-232), and in a second century A.D. papyrus fragment containing hexameters seemingly about the arrival of spring, the sacred odor of nymphs and other gods testifies to their presence (ἱερὴ δ' ἀποκίδναται ὀδμή, SH 906.2 = P. Mich. III 139.2). Particular to the gods is the smell of ambrosia; such, for example, ▪ the fragrance released over Delos when Leto gave birth to Apollo (Theognis 8-9: πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίη | ὀδμῆς ἀμβροσίης), or that emanating from Venus' hair (Verg., *Aen.* I. 403-404: *ambrosiaeque comae diuinum uertice odorem spirauere*). Cf. Lohmeyer, *Wohlgeruch*, 13-14; F. Pfister, 'Epiphanie', *RE* Suppl. IV (1924), 316; Lilja, *Odours*, 25-30; J.N. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism Reconsidered', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 280 n. 67.

The older form ὀδμή (vs. Attic ὀσμή) is commonly used by Homer (*Od.* ▪. 210), Herodotus (1. 47) and Pindar (F 129. 8 Sn.). In tragedy, ὀδμή occurs only in Aesch., *Prom.* 115 (lyr.; see TGL V, col. 1733; Barrett, *Hippolytos*,

[2] So ▪ note *ad loc.* For ▪ different opinion, see *ibidem*, and K. Gaiser, *Menanders "Hydria". Eine hellenistische Komödie und ihr Weg ins lateinische Mittelalter* (Heidelberg 1977), 244-245.

437 on 1391) and in Eur., *Hipp.* 1391 (mss.; Barrett, *loc. cit.* corrects it to ὁσμῆς); Sophocles uses the Attic form. Ὀδμή also appears in Democr. B 11 and in later prose (e.g., Anon. Lond. 34-38 [ed. W.H.S. Jones 1947]). Cf. LSJ s.v. ὀσμή, *fin.*

Neither προσέρχομαι nor προσφιλής are attested before Aeschylus. The subject of προσέρχομαι is generally personal (Aesch., *Eum.* 285; Soph., *O.C.* 1631), but abstract nouns are not uncommon; it is said of hope in Eur., *Or.* 859 (Ὄλμοι· προσῆλθεν ἐλπίς). Φωνή is found with, among other verbs, πέλομαι (Hom., *Il.* 14.400), ἱκάνω (Hom., *Il.* 15.686), ἱκνέομαι (Hes., *Theog.* 685), and ἀναβοάω (Eur., *Bacch.* 1078-1079). Used with φωνή, προσέρχομαι amounts to προσπέτομαι (τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής; Aesch., *Prom.* 115; τὸ διαμφίδιον μοι μέλος προσέπτα, *id.*, 555). Similarly, Plautus' Mercury, in mock-tragic style, remarks that somebody's words "winged their way" (transl. L. Casson) to his ears: *vox mi ad auris advolavit* (*Amphitruo* 325); also *Rudens* 332-333.

The incomplete trimeter is discussed above, p. 8 and n. 22.

6-18: Hymn (6-16) and Prayer (17-18)

If the speaker is Odysseus, the paragraphus below line 5 does not mark an alternation in the dialogue, but merely a new section in the hero's utterance.

Although line 4 may refer to the actual presence of Athena on stage, it is impossible to know where she is located. She could speak from off-stage, or could be seen on stage, either appearing on a special platform high above ground or standing at the side of Odysseus. Whether the goddess appeared on the ground or on the theologeion, or was only heard as a voice in the opening scene of Sophocles' *Ajax* remains uncertain (Kiso, *Lost Sophocles*, 132 n. 47).

6-16 Odysseus first addresses Athena in abstract mythological terms, referring to her place among the Olympians, her genealogy and astronomical triumph (lines 6-7), then dwells upon her attire (lines 8-10). Her countenance is awesome and threatening: she carries shield and spear, displays the aegis on her chest, and her feet are shod in boots. He next recalls her birth and virgin state

(lines 11-12), and lastly invokes her as an embodiment of the sun and the moon and as a "cosmocrateira"[3] (lines 13-16).

Greek hymns and later aretalogies (or "praises") usually comprise three parts: the first devoted to the φύσις and γένος of the divinity, the second celebrating his or her δύναμις, and the third recalling his or her ἔργα or εὑρήματα (cf. Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, 248-249 with bibliography; J.M. Bremer, 'Greek Hymns', *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 193-197). Contrary to most hymns, however, the invocation in P. Köln VI 245 does not explicitly recount any of Athena's memorable accomplishments.

Lines 8-10 each consist of a series of three epithets, plus two more as supralinear additions. Seven of these eleven epithets are *hapax eiremena*. The preponderant neologisms may be due to the quest for originality through conscious elaboration of traditional diction and, or, to the relative creative freedom granted by the hymnic genre (the use of neologies is particularly extensive in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, the Orphic hymns and the magic incantations). Several repetitions, however, weaken the effectiveness of the accumulation of titles: λοχεύματος (12) iterates λόχευμα (7), εὔοπλε (10) echoes ὁπλοφόρε (8), and ἀρσενοπλέ (10) rhymes with λοιγοπλέ (8).

Particular attention appears to have been paid to the arrangement of the epithets in lines 6-10. In line 6 the adjective μέγα is reserved to the end of the verse and separated from the substantive τεῖχος to which it is directly related; the litotes foreshadows the final adjective and its occurrence before the caesura creates a balance between the halves of the line, each comprising a group substantive followed by an adjective. In line 7 the first explicit mention of the goddess, Pallas, is isolated in the middle of the line by the double caesura and is preceded and followed by two exactly parallel expressions in which a vocative follows a genitive. The series of three epithets in lines 8-10 displays skillful variation: at line 8 the three adjectives are joined with the coordinate conjunction καί, in line 9 there is complete asyndeton, and line 10 probably combined coordination with simple juxtaposition. For a similar accumulation of appellatives in trimeters see, for example, *Magic Hymn to Typhon* 3 (LIX 6

[3] The word was coined by P. Hombert, 'Sarapis ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ et Isis ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΡΑ', *AC* 14 (1945), 319 n. 1.

Heitsch): γνοφεντινάκτα, βροντιγωγέ, λαιλαφέτη;[4] and for similar hexameters, see Hom., *Od.* 15.406: (the island of Syria) εὔβοτος, εὔμηλος, οἰνοπληθής, πολύπυρος; Hes., *Theog.* 320: (Chimaera) δεινήν τε μεγάλην τε ποδώκεά τε κρατερήν τε, and 925: (Athena) δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ἀγέστρατον ἀτρυτώνην. While the listing of epithets is typical of the hymnic style since Homer (e.g., *Hom. H. Herm.* 13-15), in later literature hymns sometimes consist almost entirely of a string of appellatives as, for example, in the Orphic hymns. Cf. Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 153-155, 203-204; Bühler, *Europa*, 212-215; West, *Theogony*, on lines 320 and 925; Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, 158-159; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (Cambridge U.K. 1982), 258 ■ 71.

17-18 A confident Odysseus declares that with Athena's help he will escape the wrath of the gods and execute the deed, which involves the delivery of letters ■ Helen in Troy (line 19). These words echo line 3, perhaps uttered by Odysseus as well.

6-16 Hymn

6 ὦ τεῖχος οὐκ ἄδοξον vac. ἐν θεοῖς μέγα,

"O imposing wall, glorious among the gods"

τεῖχος, 'wall, rampart', is a common metaphor for strength, but it could also be a reference to the Delphic oracle's warning to the Athenians that a wooden wall — a fleet — was the only defense they could successfully use to confront the Medes at Salamis: τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς | μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει (Hdt. 7. 141. 6-7, Haslam, *per litteras*).

πύργος (LSJ s.v. d 2) and ἔρκος (LSJ s.v. 4) constitute a more common image, and the expression ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου ("defense of Olympus") tagged to Ares in *Hom. H. VIII* 3 ■ particularly close ■ that in line 7 of the new text, οὐρανοῦ θάλος (στέφος) ("offspring [crown] of the sky").[5] In Homer, Ajax is called ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν ("bastion of Achaeans" in, e.g., *Il.* 3. 229, 6. 5, and

[4] For further discussion of lines 9, 10, 12 of our text see pp. 11-12.

[5] The 'Homeric' hymn to Ares should probably be attributed to Proclus: E. Pfeiffer, *Στοιχεῖα* 2 (1916), 109-112; Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, 3.

7. 211; the same epithet is applied to Achilles in Pind., *Pae.* 6.85), and σφιν πύργος ("a tower ■ them") ■ *Od.* 11. 556. For Alcaeus, too, men are the "Ares-inspired tower of the city": ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλι]ος πύργος ἀρεύ[ιος (F 112.10 L.-P.), while Callinus applies the term to the dying soldier: ὥσπερ γάρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσιν (F 1. 20 W.). Sophocles uses it to describe Oedipus' protective kingly power: θανάτων δ' ἐμᾷ | χώρᾳ πύργος ἀνέστας (*O.T.* 1200-1201), and Callimachus applies it to the island which granted sanctuary to Leto: Δῆλος δ' Ἀπόλλωνι· τί δὲ στιβαρώτερον ἔρκος; (*H. Delos* 24; cf. Mineur, *Hymn to Delos*, 73).

ἄδοξος, 'inglorius, obscure', is attested in tragedy (TrGF 2, Ad. F 423) and comedy (e.g., CGFP 254.4 Austin), and is relatively common ■ prose (Demosth., *On peace* 5; *Chers.* 66). Cf. Suidas s.v. ἀδοξεῖται: οὐ τιμᾶται, οὐκ ἀπόδεκτόν ἐστι. For a similar use of litotes, see TrGF 2, Ad. F 128, where Corinth shines "not obscurely" (Κόρινθος ἄστρον οὐκ ἄσημον Ἑλλάδος), and P. Giss. 3. 2-3, a piece celebrating the accession of Hadrian, in which Apollo declares that he is not unknown to the people (ἥκω σοι, ὦ δῆμ[ε], | οὐκ ἄγνωστος Φοῖβος θεός).

Athena enjoys great respect among the Olympians. Her birth inspired awe in them (*Hom. H. XXVIII* [Athena] 6-7: σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας | ἀθανάτους); she ■ foremost among the immortals (*Hom. H. Ap.* 315: ἣ πᾶσιν μακάρεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν), and revered by gods and mortals alike (Eur., *I.T.* 1492-1493: ὦ σεμνὴ παρά τ' ἀθανάτοις | καὶ παρὰ θνητοῖς, Παλλὰς Ἀθάνα). Hence the reconstruction of the first line of an Athenian hymn to the goddess: δέσποινα Παλλάς, τοῖ[ς ἐν οὐρανῷ σέβας] (W. Peek, *ZPE* 15 [1974], 226).

μέγας, the epithet of Zeus par excellence (e.g., Hom., *Il.* 2.134; *Od.* 16. 403), is a common divine appellative (e.g. *Hom. H. Pos.* 1; Callim., *H. Delos* 30). In line 8 of the Cyrenean hymn to Isis, dated to A.D. 103, the goddess ■ said to be the greatest of all gods in heavens: πάντων μεγίστην τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν (SEG 9 [1938] 192 = Peek, *Isishymnus*, 129-131). Athena-Pallas ■ called μεγάλη in Hom., *Il.* 18. 518, Callim., *Bath Pallas* 19, and in an epitaph of the imperial era from Sinope (IG II² 10347a = BE 1973 nr. 114. 9-10); and she bears the epithet μεγίστη in Soph., *O.C.* 107. Cf. M. Bissinger, *Das Adjektiv ΜΕΓΑΣ in der griechischen Dichtung* (Münchener Stu-

dien zur Sprachwissenchaft Beiheft K, Munich 1966), 64-74; Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, on v. 5.

στέφος

7 κρατὸς λόχευμα, Παλλάς, οὐρανοῦ θάλος

"Offspring of the head, Pallas, child (crown) of the sky"

λόχευμα meaning 'child' is not attested before Euripides; ■ *Pho.* 803, for example, Oedipus ■ λόχευμ' 'Ιοκάστας. The word κάρα does not appear ■ the accounts of Athena's birth: e.g., Hes., *Theog.* 924 (ἐκ κεφαλῆς); Hes., F (dub.) 343.12 M.-W. (πὰρ κορυφήν); *Hom. H. Ap.* 309 (ἐν κορυφῇ); *Hom. H. XXVIII* (Athena) 5 (ἐκ κεφαλῆς); Ibycus, PMG 298. 4 Page (κορυφᾶς); Epicharmus, CGFP 85 a, 2 Austin (ἐκ κεφαλᾶς); Eur., *Ion* 457 (κορυφὰς Διός); and Callim., *Bath Pallas* 135 (Διὸς κορυφά). Κάρα is very common in tragic diction (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* II, s.v.; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.), and its selection over κεφαλή and κορυφή may indicate a conscious effort to give the poetical cliché an unmistakable tragic expression. Cf. Sositheus, TrGF 1, 99 F 2.20 Snell: (of the gruesome death strangers meet after helping Lityerses harvest his grain) κρατὸς ὀρφανὸν φέρει, and K. Latte, 'Reste frühhellenistischer Poetik', *Hermes* 60 (1925), 11.

Genealogy and etymology are common components of lists of epithets: Adami, *JKP* 1901, 224-227; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 148. Zeus' lone parenthood is mentioned in, e.g., Hom., *Il.* 5.875; Aesch., *Eum.* 663-666; Eur., *Pho.* 666-667; *Erecth.*, F 65.64 Austin; and Callim., *Bath Pallas* 134. Also F. Dümmler, 'Athena', *RE* 2.2 (1896), 1985-1987; N. Loraux, *Les enfants d'Athéna* (Paris 1981), 142-146; and R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', in: *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, ed. J. Bremmer (Totowa 1986), 190-192. In Pind., *Ol.* 7. 35 and F 34 M.-Sn., and *Et. magn.* p. 371, 35 (Gaisford) Hephaistos delivers Athena by striking Zeus' head with his axe (cf. M. Delcourt, *Héphaïstos ou la légende du magicien* [Paris 1957], 137-145). Elsewhere, the rôle of midwife is played by Prometheus (Eur., *Ion* 455-457) or by Palamaon (*Schol. Pind., Ol.* 7.66). In Hesiod, *Theogony* 886-900, Athena is presented as the daughter of Zeus and Metis, though, strictly speaking, this is at odds with Athena's birth from Zeus' head. Cf. West, *Theogony*, on lines 924 and 886ff.; H. Jeanmaire, 'La naissance d'Athéna et la royauté magique de Zeus', *RA* 48 (1956), 14-16; Burkert, *Religion*, 142; Detienne - Vernant, *Mètis*, 107-109.

Although ὁπλοφόρε ('arms bearing') in line 8 need not be connected with Athena's birth, the tradition of her being born armed is well established: Hes., F (dub.) 343.19 M.-W; *Hom. H. XXVIII* (Athena) 5; Stesich., PMG 233 Page; Arist., *Birds* 830; Orph., *Theog.* F 132 Abel. On the attribution of the first literary mention of this detail, see Kauer, *Geburt*, 54-55; and West, *Theogony*, on 924.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* Παλλάς is always accompanied either by Ἀθήνη (e.g., *Il.* 4.541; *Od.* 23.160) or by Ἀθηναίη (e.g., *Il.* 11.438; *Od.* 13.252). However, Παλλάς alone appears twice in the 'Homeric' corpus: *Hom. H. Dem.* 424: Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα, and in *Batrach.* 275: Παλλάδα πέμψωμεν πολεμόκλονον ἢ καὶ Ἄρηα.[6] Hesiod and the lyric poets follow the general Homeric practice; Pindar, Bacchylides and the tragic poets alternate in their use of Παλλάς alone (Pind. *Ol.* 2.26; Bacchyl., *Epin.* 5.92; Aesch., *Sept.* 130; Soph., *Ai.* 953; Eur., *Tro.* 47) or Παλλάς - Ἀθήνη. The etymology of the word is given in *Schol. AD Il.* 1.200 Dindorf. Cf. Koenen-Merkelbach, *P. Coll. Youtie* 1, 16-17; Burkert, *Religion*, 140.

The choice of Pallas over all her other names to address Athena seems to suggest from the very beginning a deliberate identification of statue and goddess. In Athenian ephebic inscriptions, ἡ Παλλάς designates the Palladium, the statue of martial Athena, which underwent a ritual bath each year at Phaleron (cf. Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, on line 1).

οὐρανός is the dwelling of the gods (Hom., *Od.* 4.378; Arist., *Birds* 1234) and of Zeus in particular (Hom., *Il.* 15.192; Archil., F 177.1 W.; Hes., *Theog.* 71-72; Eur., *I.T.* 749). Those who pray to Zeus turn toward the sky (e.g., Hom., *Il.* 3.364-365; *Batrach.* 168; Pind., *Isthm.* 6.41-42; Aesch., *Sept.* 442-443): J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique* (Geneva 1958), 88-89; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965), 78-82. The sky, realm of Zeus, is here a metonym for the god. Cf. Epicharmus B 52 a = Varro, *L. L.* 5.65: *Idem hi dei Caelum et Terra, Iupiter et Iuno, quod ut ait Ennius,*

[6] For the Hellenistic dating of the poem, see H. Wölke, *Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachie* (Beitr. klass. Phil. 100, Meisenheim 1978), 46-70; R. Glei, *Die Batrachomyomachie. Synoptische Edition und Kommentar* (Stud. klass. Phil. 12, Frankfurt-Bern-New York-Nancy 1984), 34-36.

Hence, the expression οὐρανοῦ θάλος is perhaps equivalent to the more conventional Διὸς τέκος (e.g., Hom., *Il.* 1. 202; Proclus, *H. Athena* 1), for -Δι- itself means 'sky' (P. Chantraine, 'Réflexions sur les noms des dieux helléniques', *AC* 22 [1953], 66).

θάλος, 'growth', 'plant', hence 'offspring', unless the author meant "by θάλος (= θαλλός ?) much the same as στέφος" (Haslam). Cf. Aeschines, *In Ctesiphontem* 187: στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ. In its first acceptation, θάλος is frequently used from Homer on: Hom., *Il.* 22.87; *Od.* 6.157; Pind., *Ol.* 2.45. Neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles use it, but Eur., *I.T.* 171; A.P. 5 174.1; Phoenix, 2.14 p. 233 Powell. It is particularly common in Orphic hymns: *Persephone* 5, *Artemis* 11, *Adonis* 8, *Asclepius* 6, and also appears in magic texts. In PGM IV 458 (= Heitsch LIX 4.25), for example, the sun is invoked as the "ancestor, offspring of the world" (ἴλαθί μοι, προπάτωρ, κόσμου θάλος). "Ερνος is another common metaphor derived from nature: e.g., Hom., *Od.* 6.163; Eur., *Bacch.* 1306; Theocr., *Pharm.* 121. Similar imagery appears in texts connected with mystery cults as well, as in Orpheus B 17.6: Γῆς παῖς εἰμὶ καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος. Cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford 1971), 364-367; M. L. West, 'Zum neuen Goldblättchen aus Hipponion', *ZPE* 18 (1975), 229-236; G. Zuntz, 'Die Goldlamelle von Hipponion', *WS* 89 (1976), 129-151 (esp. 142-143).

Rarely used in the singular, στέφος is an exclusively poetic noun which often expresses the general idea of adornment; so Hesych. 1797 στέφει· κοσμεῖ, στεφανοῖ Schmidt. See J. Servais, '"στέμματ" ἔχων ἐν χερσίν', *AC* 36 (1967), 431-436, and M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten 38, Berlin - New York 1982), 31.

The phrase οὐρανοῦ στέφος might be interpreted in allegorical terms. Some philosophers and late commentators on Homer hold that Athena is an allegory of either φρόνησις, πρόνοια, or νοῦς (cf. M. van der Valk, 'Athena', *Lex. früh-gr. Epos* I [Göttingen 1979], 210). In general, however, Zeus is the allegorization of νοῦς and Athena-φρόνησις his close subordinate (so *Schol. M³ Od.* 1.101: 'ὀβριμοπάτρη' λέγεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ διότι τῆς φρονήσεως πατὴρ ὁ νοῦς ἐστι, πάντων δὲ κρεῖττον καὶ ἰσχυρότερον ὁ νοῦς). Late authors believed reason rested in the head, hence their symbolic interpretation of the birth of Athena. For Heraclitus, the head is the "mother of reasoning": ἔκ τε

τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖ· τοῦτον γάρ ἀπεφηνάμεθα τὸν χῶρον ἰδίως λογισμῶν εἶναι μητέρα (*Quaest. Hom.* 19.9), and according to Eust. 83.34 (*in Il.* 1.200) wisdom "protruberates" from the head: ἐκ κεφαλῆς δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ λογιστικόν, οὗ προβολὴ ἡ φρόνησις (cf. M. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus* [EPRO 47, Leiden 1975], 93-94). In cosmological terms Athena is an aspect of Zeus' all encompassing power and manifestation: she is the *phronesis* of the creation. The Stoic Diogenes of Babylonia, whose treatise on Athena is known through a summary written by Philodemus, thought that Athena's realm was the ether: εἶναι δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν διατετακὸς Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν Δήμητραν, τὸ δ' εἰς τὸν ἀέρα Ἥραν – – – τὸ δ' εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα Ἀθηνᾶν (SVF III p. 217 von Arnim). Thus, the expression οὐρανοῦ στέφος in line 7 could, perhaps, designate the highest layer of the atmosphere which, like a crown, encircles the rest of creation. For the various philosophical interpretations of Athena, see Buffière, *Mythes*, 142-143, 281-282.

8 [ὁπλοφόρε] [γοργοφόνε] καὶ λοιγωτὲ καὶ γοργοκτόνε

λοιγωτέ : γοργωπέ Gronewald

"Arms bearing, whose eyes spread ruin, Gorgon killer"

ὁπλοφόρε, the metrical equivalent of and substitute for γοργοφόνε, avoids the repetition of γοργοκτόνε used at the end of the same line. Ὁπλοφόρος is first attested in Euripides (*Pho.* 789; *I.A.* 190), but there is no literary evidence for its being an appellative of Athena. It is, however, documented as a cult name in an inscription: [Ν]ικοκράτους παῖ[ς δε τόξο]ν Τίμων ἀνέθηκε[ν καὶ σάκ]ος ὁπλοφόρωι Παλ[λάδι εὐ]ξάμενος (*AE* [1911] p. 126 = SEG 28 [1978] nr. 518 [Gonnoi, Thessaly, 2nd half 3rd century B.C.]). In *Orph. H.* 32 (Athena) 6, the goddess is said to delight in arms (ὁπλοχαρής).

γοργοφόνε, a feminine form of the adjective γοργοφόνος is Athena's appellative in Eur., *Ion* 1478 (Ἴστω Γοργοφόνα), on the basis of which P. Maas corrected the reading γοργοφόνε (Ψ) in *Orph. H.* 32 (Athena) 8 into γοργοφόνη (p. 26 Quandt). The emendation is no longer necessary: γοργοφόνος (-ον) is an attested alternative to γοργοφόνα as a name of Athena. Cf. O. Waser, 'Gorgophone' (3), *RE* 7.2 (1912), 1657-1658.

λοιγωπὲ καὶ γοργοκτόνε: two *hapax legomena*. The first is a variant of the expected γοργωπός, for Athena is sometimes called γοργῶπις (Soph., *Ai.* 450; *Incert. fab.*, TrGF 4 F 844 Radt; Eur., *Helen* 1316). Ares is called βροτολοιγός in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 5. 518, 13. 298; *Od.* 8.115). The replacement of γοργοφόνε by ὁπλοφόρε weakens Gronewald's suggestion (γοργωπέ) since the author deliberately avoided the sequence of three γοργο- compounds. The second adjective is a newly coined synonym of γοργοφόνος. Cf. I. Kazik-Zawadzka, *Les hapax eiremena et les mots rares dans les fragments papyrologiques des trois grands tragiques grecs* (Warsaw 1962), 59-60 for -κτόνος compounds, and 109-110 for -φόνος compounds.

In the early account of the myth, Gorgo is killed by Perseus with the help of Athena; in a later version, Athena defeats Gorgo: K. Ziegler, 'Gorgo', *RE* 7.2 (1912), 1637-1638. On primitive Athena being assimilated with Gorgo herself: Ziegler, *RE* 7.2, 1641-1642; Cook, *Zeus* III 1, 837-838; and E. Touloupa, 'Une Gorgone en bronze de l'Acropole', *BCH* 93 (1969), 874-875. See also I. Krauskopf, 'Gorgo, Gorgones', *LIMC* IV (1988), 285-331.

9 φέγγασπι, δρακοντόστηθε, δορατοδέξιε,

"With a shield of light, serpents on your chest, a spear in your right hand"

φέγγασπι is a new epithet created by analogy with similar appellatives of Athena: χρύσασπις (Eur., *Pho.* 1372; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 34.47) and φέρασπις (Proclus, *H. Athena* 3; Christodorus of Coptus, *Ecphrasis* A.P. 2. 388). On Athena's astronomical power, see Koenen-Merkelbach, *P. Coll. Youtie* I, 18-19. Other compounds of -ασπις include λεύκασπις (Soph., *Ant.* 106 [of Polynices]).

On the unassimilated spelling -νγ-, see Mayser I² 1, 151, 2(a) and Gignac I, 170-171.

δρακοντόστηθε is a neologism. The snake is one of several animals associated with Athena: καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ δράκων ἱέρωται (Eust. 87. 40 = *in Il.* 1. 206). Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund 1950, 2nd ed.), 496-498; *id.*, *Religion* 1, 348-349. On a red-figure pyxis in Copenhagen, the goddess travels to the judgment of Paris in a chariot drawn by snakes (*Roscher* III 1, 1617-1618 fig. 7), and in *Orph. H. 32*

(Athena) 11 she is called δράκαινα. In the Orphic *Lithica* 542 the compound δρακοντοέθειρα is applied to the Gorgon.

The serpent adorning Athena's chest is the aegis, originally a cloaklike garment made from the skin of a flayed animal or that of an enemy; it is thrown over the shoulders, covering part of the breast and hanging down the back, and is used as a shield by Zeus and Athena (Stengel, *RE* 1.1, 970).

According to Dionysius Scytobrachion (F 9 Rusten = Diod. 3.70.5), Aegis was a monster spitting fire which Athena killed, flayed and whose skin she wore (cf. L. Koenen, *StudPap* 15 [1976], 46-47; J.S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* [Papyr. Colon. 10, Opladen 1982], 137-138). In another tradition, it is Gorgo who was decapitated and flayed (Hes., *Theog.* 280), and whose head and skin became Athena's protection (e.g., Eur., *Ion* 989-993). This aegis is the ample cloak rimmed with serpents and adorned with the Gorgon's head which the goddess wears on top of her peplos (cf. Stengel, *RE* 1.1, 971; K. Kerényi, *Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion. Eine Studie über Pallas Athene* [Albae Vigiliae 12, Zurich 1952], 57-60; P.E. Arias-M. Hirmer, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* [New York 1962], pls. 56 and 84). To kill, flay and dress oneself in an opponent's skin is a recurrent pattern in the mythology of Athena's battles (Koenen-Merkelbach, *P. Coll. Youtie* I, 3-20; Burkert, *Religion*, 140; on the religious significance of the rite: Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 65-67).

στῆθος is rare in post-Homeric verse (LSJ s.v.); in tragedy, it is found twice in Aeschylus, never in Sophocles or Euripides. The plural form ('breast', 'bosom') is not uncommon in the description of female beauty (e.g., *Il.* 3.396-397 [Aphrodite]; Callim., *Bath Pallas* 88, and Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn, ad loc.*). Compounds in -στηθος seem to be rare and late (LSJ s.v. δασύστηθος; Buck-Petersen, 445).

The newly coined word δορατοδέξια indicates that Athena is holding a spear in her right hand. This was a feature of the Palladium at Troy: καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ δόρυ διηρμένον (Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.12.3). Δορατοδέξιος also evokes the etymology of one of Athena's names ("brandisher"): Παλλάδα – – – ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλειν καὶ κραδαίνειν τὸ δόρυ (*Schol. AD Il.* 1.200 Dindorf; Cook, *Zeus* II 2, 1031; cp. Eur., *Ion* 210-211: πάλλουσαν ἴτυν | – – – Παλλάδ'), as well as the third of her martial attributes, the spear. Her skill in throwing

the spear in legendary: Eur., *I. A.* 1304-1305, *Helen* 1315-1316; Lyr. adesp. 10 (Laudes Homeri, dated to the Ptolemaic period) col. 1.8-9 p. 187 Powell: ἄνασσα | δόρι; Proclus, *H. Athena* 4: δορυσσόε; Anth. Plan. 170.3 (Hermodorus): δορυθαρσέα.

ωθοε
10 εὔοπλε καὶ ἀρσενωπέ, κρηπειδόσφυρε,

Suprascript, possibly ἀλάστωρ θεῖε Koenen : ἀμ[ή]τωρ θεῖε ("motherless goddess") West : λαβέλωρ θεῖε (i.e. εὔοπλε λαβέλωρ θεῖε [vgl. λαβάργυρος "göttliche Beutemacherin"?]) Gronewald

"You, well-armed and manly faced, wearing boots around
your ankles"

εὔοπλος is not attested in tragedy — Aristophanes has it once in an obscene pun (*Acharn.* 592) — but the adjective is documented as an appellative of Athena in the sixth line of an hymn on stone from the Acropolis (*Hesperia* 41 [1972], 437-439 = *ZPE* 15 [1974], 226): εὔοπλε, καλλίτεχνε, κ[υδίστη θεά]. The goddess is called πάνοπλος in Eur., *Helen* 1315, and πολύοπλος in line 9 of a second century B.C. epitaph honoring a strategos from Lydia (*ZPE* 30 [1978], 269-273 nr. 17 = SEG 28 [1978] nr. 891 = BE 1979 nr. 438 = TAM V 1 468b).

ἀρσενωπέ is an unattested epithet of Athena. The goddess' manly and martial character is often alluded to: e.g., Simias, F 25.1 p. 117 Powell: ἀνδροθέᾳ - - - Ἀθάνᾳ, *Orph. H. 32* (Athena) 10: ἄρσην μὲν καὶ θῆλυς ἔφυς, Proclus, *H. Athena* 3: ἀρσενόθυμε, and Ps.-Justin, *Ad Graecos* 2 (p. 635.18-24 von Harnack): Ἀθηνᾶς γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρικὸν σιγῶ. On the dual nature of the gods (θῆλυς / ἄρσην), see Keyssner, *Hymnus*, 26-27.

ἀλάστωρ, 'spirit of vengeance' or 'avenging deity', is one of the relatively few nouns in -τωρ attested in the feminine (Buck-Petersen, 306-310). The vocative form ἀλάστωρ occurs in PCG IV F 2.5 (Bato). Attested four times in Aeschylus, twice in Sophocles, and commonly occurring in Euripides, ἀλάστωρ occurs as an adjective qualifying Zeus in *Orph. H.* 73.3 and Tyche in Nicetas Eugenianus, *Drosilla et Charicles* 3.350 and 7.207 Hercher. It is not attested as an epithet of Athena.

κρηπειδόσφυρε is a neologism built by analogy with the many compounds, epic and lyric, in -σφυρος: [illegible]., ταυρόσφυρος (*Hom. H. Dem.* 2 and 77; Hes., F

6 M.-W.), καλλίσφυρος (e.g., Hom., *Od.* 11.603; Simon. 17.1-2 W.; Hes., *Theog.* 384 [of Nike]) and εὔσφυρος (Hes., *Scut.* 86; Theocr., *Alakata* 13). Unlike these adjectives, however, the new word combines two nouns (cf. ῥοδόσφυρος, Quint. Smyrn. 1.138).

The κρηπίς is a type of men's shoe with thick soles: εἶδος ὑποδήματος ἀνδρικοῦ, ὑψηλὰ ἔχοντος τὰ καττύματα (AB 1, p. 273 Bekker). The *krepides* were sometime worn by actors, so Hegemon, *Parodies* 4 (ed. P. Brandt p. 42 [Teubner] and note *ad loc.*: *id genus calciamentum, quo hilaroedi utebantur teste Athen.* 14, 621 b: καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρῆτο [ὁ ἱλαρῳδός], ὡς φησι ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς [*in libro primo peri choron*, FHG IV 331] νῦν δὲ κρηπῖσι). They are also worn by soldiers: Pollux 7.85: κρηπῖδες, τὸ μὲν φόρημα στρατιωτικόν, and Xen., *Eq.* 12.10. This footgear consists of looped straps (Pliny, *H. N.* 35.85: *in crepidis … ansas*) attached to a nailed sole (Pliny, *H. N.* 36.127: *clavis crepidarum*; Plut., *Alex.* 40.1). The adjective κρηπιδόσφυρος focuses on its fastening around the ankles with thongs: Heliod., *Aethiop.* 3.3.2: κρηπὶς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱμάντι φοινικῷ διάπλοκος ὑπὲρ ἀστράγαλον ἐσφίγγετο. Cf. M. Bieber, 'krepis', *RE* 11.2 (1922), coll. 1711-1712; K.D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison Wisc. 1985), 107-114 (*krepides* in the Hellenistic period) and 180 n. 46 (*krepides* as part of the Macedonian military uniform). In Theocr., *Syrakosiai* 6 the κρηπῖδες designate the soldiers themselves, with special emphasis on their Macedonian nationality. Military footgear suits Athena's manly and martial nature: a terracotta figurine from Roman Egypt represents the goddess shod in boots (Cairo, Egyptian Museum Cat. 26874 = *LIMC* II [1984] s.v. 'Athena [in Aegypto]' nr. 35).

The attitude and attire described in lines 8-10 suggest that Athena is seen or imagined standing, clad in military garb, perhaps brandishing her spear, in a posture similar to the traditional pose and guise of the martial goddess. This also corresponds to the image of the Palladium as it is known from literature and art, in which case the description could foreshadow the statue's appearance at the end of the play, when Odysseus — or Antenor — rushes from the temple clutching the idol. In Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12.3 (= *Schol. Lycophr. Alex.* 355) the Palladium is three cubits tall, with feet joined together, a spear in the raised right hand and a distaff and spindle in the left: ἦν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τρίπηχυ, τοῖς δὲ ποσὶ συμβεβηκός, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ δόρυ διηρμένον ἔχον τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ

ἡλακάτην καὶ ἄτρακτον. Cf. Chavannes, *De raptu*, 3, and the late archaic red-figure kylix of Macron (Leningrad, Museum of the Hermitage 649 = ARV² 460.13): Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 72-73, 91-92, pls. 30-31.

11-12 ἄνυμφε — καὶ γὰρ ἄνυμφον οἴκησας τόπον —
ἀπαρθενεύτου παρθέν᾽ ε ἐγ᾽ λόχευματος

"you, unmarried — for in fact you have dwelt in a place
unsuited for brides — maiden born from a virginal birth"

ἄνυμφος, 'unmarried, being no bride': ἄνυμφον· κακόνυμφον. ἢ τὴν μὴ δυναμένην νυμφευθῆναι, Hesych. α 5557 Latte. Athena, along with Artemis, is one of the archetypal virgins (Burkert, *Religion*, 139-143, 149-152). She declares her aversion to marriage in Aesch., *Eum.* 737: τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν, and in poetry, hers are epithets asserting freedom from marriage (ἀνύμφευτος [Nonnus, *Dionys.* 2.106], ἄγαμος [*id.* 16.30-31], ἄζυξ [Arist., *Thesm.* 1139]), or aversion [illegible] (μισόνυμφος [Lycophr., *Alex.* 356], φυγοδέμνιος [A.P. 6.10.1], or φυγόλεκτρος [*Orph. H. 32* (Athena) 8]).

καὶ γὰρ ἄνυμφον οἴκησας τόπον: where a vocative precedes the parenthetical γάρ clause, "γάρ may either give a reason for addressing the person in question, or an anticipatory reason for what follows. In most cases both factors are present" (Denniston, 69; Kühner-Gerth II 2, 337 and [illegible]. 1; also N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus. Hymn to Demeter* [Cambridge U.K. 1984], on line 22). Writing κἄνυμφον γὰρ would rid the line of its 'split anapaest' (Denniston, 110, but see above p. [illegible] n. 28). The form οικησας Π is an example of unaugmented aorist particularly common [illegible] compounds [illegible] οἰκο- (Mayser I² 1, 102; Gignac II, 239); for an example in literary papyri, see e.g., κατοίκισας (i.e. κατώικισας) in W. Ostr. 1147.3 (2nd century B.C.), and Mayser I² 2, 115.

The gods' dwelling [illegible] their cities of predilection is expressed by, *inter alia*, οἰκέω (Arist., *Thesm.* 318-319: [Athena] πόλιν οἱ ⏑ κοῦσα; Callim., *H. Artemis* 173: Ἀλὰς Ἀραφηνίδας οἰκήσουσα; Herodas, *Mim.* 4.1-2: [Asclepius] ὃς μέδεις - - - καὶ - - - ὤικηκας), ἀμφιβαίνω (Hom., *Il.* 1.37: [Apollo] Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας), and ἔχω (Arist., *Thesm.* 1140: [Pallas] ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει). Cf. Serv., *in Aen.* 2.615: *Minervae dantur, quod ipsa sit inventrix aedificiorum ut* (*Ecl.* 2.61) *Pallas quas condidit arces ipsa colat.* For this hymnic theme, see Adami, *JKP* 1901, 227-229; Keyssner, *Hymnus*, 78-

79; and Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, 167 n. 2. Athena is ἐρυσίπτολις (*Hom. H. XXVIII* [Athena] 3), πολιοῦχος (Arist., *Clouds* 602, *Knights* 581; Raubitschek and Jeffery, *Dedications*, nrs. 3, 53 and 233; A.P. 9.154), πολιάς (Soph., *Phil.* 134; Arist., *Birds* 827), and μεδέουσα (Arist., *Knights* 763; IG I²(1) 977.10 [4th century B.C.]). Cf. Herington, *Athena*, 8 and n. 1; Nilsson, *Religion* 1, 347-350, 433-444; Simon, *Götter*, 179, 184; Espermann, *Antenor*, 40; Johrens, *Athenahymnus*, 69-70, 90, 96; Burkert, *Religion*, 140.

In the phrase ἄνυμφον οἴκησας τόπον, the adjective clearly modifies the noun τόπος and not the goddess.[7] Since the γάρ sentence is most likely an anticipatory clause, line 11 explains the following verse. Hence, Zeus' head cannot but be Athena's prenatal dwelling. Nonnus similarly describes Zeus' head as "unwedded": Βάκχον ἀνυμφεύτῳ μετὰ Παλλάδα τίκτε καρήνῳ (*Dionys.* 46.48; cp. Nonnus 20.155), and Aelius Aristides states that the goddess does not have a nobler abode than her father's head: ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνῆκεν αὐτήν, ὡς ἄρα οὔτε ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου κεφαλῆς κάλλιον ἦν ἀνελθεῖν οὐδὲν οὔτε Ἀθηνᾷ τόπος βελτίων ἀνασχεῖν, *H. Athena* 3 (= 37.3 Keil). Line 11 might well also contain a pun: Athena is no bride since she was born of a place unsuited to brides.

The author's interlinear correction of the nominative form into παρθένε and his introduction of the preposition ἐγ before λοχεύματος in line 12 is discussed above on page 5.

ἀπαρθενεύτου – – – λοχεύματος (i.e. ἀπαρθενεύτων – – – λοχευμάτων), 'of a virginal birth': the singular λόχευμα in the sense of 'childbirth' is not otherwise attested; the word appears at line 7 of our text in its acceptation of 'offspring'. The first attested occurrence of ἀπαρθένευτος meaning 'virginal' is in Sophocles, TrGF 4 F 304 Radt: ἀπαρθένευτος· ἀκέραιος καθαρά, a quotation from the *Hipponous* (Hesych. α 5807 Latte); it also appears in PMG 851 Page = *Carm. Pop.* 5(b) 3 (Semos of Delos).

Athena's birth is virginal since it occurred without female participation: Aesch., *Eum.* 663-666: πατὴρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἄνευ μητρός· πέλας | μάρτυς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός, οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη, | ἀλλ'

[7] Athena, however, had some connections with brides and marriages: L.A. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932), 18; Johrens, *Athenahymnus*, 296 n. 671; Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, 20-21.

οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός ("There can be a father without any mother. There she stands, the living witness, daughter of Olympian Zeus, she who was never fostered in the dark of the womb yet such a child as no goddess could bring to birth"). The designation of her parthenogenesis as virginal is echoed in Nonnus (see above), and the ἀπαρθένευτον λόχευμα could also be a pun: Athena's birth is 'virginal' because it occurred without a mother, but is at the same time 'unmaidenly' because of the involvement of a male, her father.

The oxymoronic sense of the first two words of the line and their alliteration recall Eur., *Hec.* 612: νύμφην τ' ἄνυμφον παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον. The theme of virgin motherhood is anthropologically well documented: E. Leach, 'Virgin Birth', in: *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (London 1969), 85-112, with bibliography.

παρθένε, 'maiden'. Athena is free from sexuality and marriage: παρθένος μὲν γάρ ἐστι ἡ μὴ γευσαμένη συνουσίας ἀνδρῶν (*Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 356). Neither Homer nor Hesiod call her παρθένος; Athena is first granted that epithet in *Hom. H. XXVIII* (Athena) 3, often considered to be an Athenian poem (Herington, *Athena*, 10 with references). In later poetry, the appellative appears either with the name of the goddess (e.g., Eur., *Tro.* 971), or alone (e.g., Pind., *Ol.* 13.71; Aesch., *Eum.* 999; Eur., *Helen* 25; Arist. *Thesm.* 1139). Sophocles never uses the word in connection with Athena. Παρθένος as a cult name is widely attested from the end of the sixth century B.C. (Raubitschek and Jeffery, *Dedications*, nrs. 40, 79) until the Roman period: SEG 21 (1965), nr. 511.5-6 (Agora); SEG 28 (1978) nr. 633.2-3 (Chersonesos; second century A.D.): θεὰ βασίλεσσα Παρθένος. On Athena Parthenos see, more recently, Simon, *Götter*, 207-209; Burkert, *Religion*, 143.

In lines 13-16, Athena is invoked as an embodiment of the sun and the moon and as a cosmocrator, in a manner characteristic of the post-Hellenistic period. The Epidauran hymn to Athena, dated to the third-fourth century A.D., preserves a telling cultic parallel document:

> Χαῖρ' ἄνασσα Παλλὰς ἀγ[νά ? ca. 15 letters]
> κυδάεσσα παρθέν[ε ca. 18 letters]
> στίλβοντα πο[ca. 23 letters]
> λάμπουσα κρα[ca. 23 letters]
> μακαρτάτα κα[ca. 24 letters]
> ἃ πάντα κό[σμον ?]

"Hail! Pallas, chaste (?) mistress | glorious maiden | [it / him] shining | (you) gleaming [about, by] your head (?) | most blessed | you who … the whole world (?)"
(IG IV I² 134 = Epidaur. Hymn nr. 6 [ed. P. Maas])

13-14 φέρεις, (c)θενείςτη πάντα, Τειτᾶνος βολὰς
ἀκτεῖσι κεφαλῆς

cθενείςτη, i.e. cθενίςτη Parca : θεμείςτη, im. θεμιστή Haslam, Lloyd-Jones, Maresch, Parsons, West πάντα adverbial, Haslam, Parsons

"you bear, almighty, the beams of the sun ■ the radiance of your head"

cθενείςτη, 'almighty', — a form not otherwise attested — appears to combine the stem cθεν- (cθενής, cθένιος) with the superlative suffix -ιστο- (H. Seiler, *Die primären griechischen Steigerungsformen* [Hamburg 1950], 105). Cp. Callim. *Bath Pallas* 117: ὀλβίεταν ἐρέει ce, and see Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, 226-227 for further examples — both Homeric and Attic — of forms in -ιστος built on stems for which there are no corresponding adjectival positives. As this particular formation appears to fall out of use in the vernacular language (Mayser I² 2, 59; Gignac II, 151-157), its presence here may reflect an attempt to impart a greater poetic flavor ■ the line.

Two of Athena's names imply strength. Suppliants are beseeching Sthenela in Lycophr., *Alex.* 1164: λιταῖc Cθένειαν ἵκτιδες γουνούμεναι, and Sthenias ■ one of her titles at Troezen: Ἀθηνᾶν τε cέβουcι Πολιάδα καὶ Cθενιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ Ποcειδᾶνα Βαcιλέα ἐπίκληcιν (Paus. 2.30.6; cp. 2.32.5). She is also called μεγίcτη in Soph., *O.C.* 107, and παγκρατής in Arist., *Thesm.* 317. The exaltation of the god's strength is a recurrent theme ■ hymns: e.g., *Hom. H. Apollo* 268: ce■ δὲ cθένος ἐcτὶ μέγιcτον, and Keyssner, *Hymnus*, 52. The adjective θεμιστή, on the other hand, is not an attested epithet of Athena, nor is ■ an appellative of any other god. Remotely related appellatives are θεμιστεύων, said ■ Apollo in Scymnus of Chios 59-60 (*Geographici Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller [Paris 1855], p. 196), and Θέμις applied to Bithyia in Nonnus 41.162.

Τιτάν here refers to a single deity. In Emped. ■ 38.4 it is the name of the ether encircling the world (J. Bollack, *Empédocle, 3. Les Origines; commen-*

taire I [Paris 1969], 261-263). Here, as elsewhere, it designates the sun (e.g., TrGF 2, Ad. F 649.28; Ezech. *Exagoge* 217 = TrGF 1, F 128.217; Orph., *Argon.* 512; *Orph. H. 8* [Sun] 2; *Orph. H. 78* [Dawn] 3; PGM III 210 = Heitsch LIX 5.13). Sometimes, too, heroes and gods assimilated with the sun are so styled (*Orph. H. 12* [Heracles] 1; *Orph. H. 34* [Apollo] 3).

The first attestation of βολαί in the sense of 'rays of sunlight' occurs in Soph., *Ai.* 877-878: τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου βολῶν | κέλευθον (also, e.g., Eur., *Bacch.* 458). For the representation of the sun rays as projectiles, see Eur., *H. F.* 1090 and Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I, 229.

The general meaning of ἀκτῖνες is 'rays' or 'beams', of the sun in particular: e.g., Hom., *Il.* 10.547; *Hom. H. Helios* 10-11; Mimnermus ■ 11(a) 2 W.; Aesch., *Pers.* 364; Soph., *Ant.* 100 (sing.); Eur., *Bacch.* 679; Arist., *Birds* 1711. Hence the phrase ἀκτεῖσι κεφαλῆς refers to a radiance about Athena's head, and could also have the extended sense of "beaming face". ■ Proclus, *H. Athena* 31, Athena's face radiates a pure light (κλῦθί μευ, ἡ φάος ἁγνὸν ἀπαστράπτουσα προσώπου), and in his commentary on the *Timaeus* Proclus identifies the goddess' brilliance as the intellectual power which she emanates: καὶ προσλάμπουσα τὸ θεῖον φῶς ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἔστι γὰρ φωσφόρος μὲν ὡς τὸ νοερὸν πάντῃ διατεῖνουσα φῶς (*In Tim.* I 168.27-28). See also the tantalizing beginnings of lines 3 and 4 of the Epidauran hymn to Athena quoted on p. 39.

■ descriptions of astral bodies, the radiate nimbus is usually mentioned before any other physical feature. Thus, at full moon, "the air, unlit before, glows with the light of her golden crown, and her rays beam clear": στίλβει δέ τ' ἀλάμπετος ἀὴρ | χρυσέου ἀπὸ στεφάνου, ἀκτῖνες δ' ἐνδιάονται (*Hom. H. Selene* 5-6; the moon is ἀκτινοχαῖτι, "glossy-locked", in PGM IV 2286 [= Heitsch LIX 9.44]). See also *Hom. H. Helios* 10-11, or Verg., *Aen.* 2.615-616: *Iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas | insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.* Cp. Orph., *Argon.* 1219-1220 where Circe's hair is likened to fiery rays: ἀπὸ κρατὸς γὰρ ἕθειραι | πυρσαῖς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἀλίγκιοι ἠώρηντο.

The radiate crown or halo is a typical feature of representations of Helios.[8] Syncretistic deities are granted this attribute: for example, the Apollo

[8] Cf. Schauenburg, *Helios*, pls. 7, 13, 25; Holden, *Metopes*, 6-18 (on the Helios metope assumed to come from the north-east corner of the temple of Athena ■

cosmocrator on a fragment of wall painting from the Casa dell' Argenteria in Pompeii (Brendel, *Sphere*, pl. 17). The radiate head is also common in Mithraic depictions,[9] and plays a key rôle in Roman imperial propaganda and iconography.[10] Like the Ptolemies, the Roman emperors were often depicted on coinage wearing a solar crown: Poole, *Catalogue*, nrs. 156 (pl. 11) [Nero] and 360 [Trajan]; Geissen, *Sammlung Köln* 3, nr. 2221 [Commodus].

The radiate crown on Roman imperial coins is first used to commemorate posthumous apotheosis. It appears on bronze coins struck by Tiberius with the head of Augustus (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. I *Augustus to Vitellius* [London 1923], nr. 141 [pl. 25.11]) and on gold and silver coins with the head of Augustus (Mattingly I, nr. 10 [pl. 27.8]) or Tiberius struck by Caligula. The first representations of a living emperor wearing the radiate crown date ■ Nero, who used it ■ distinguish ■-tween the bronze dupondius and the bronze as — with a radiate crown and a laureate wreath, respectively (Mattingly I, nr. 120 [pl. 43,4]). Under Caracalla the radiate crown still distinguishes the dupondius from the as, but also serves to distinguish between the double piece in gold and silver (Mattingly, V *Pertinax to Elagabalus* [London 1950], XXXI).

Descriptions of Athena with solar traits are rare; they reflect the general syncretistic tendency to attribute the plurality of divine manifestations to a single deity (cf. L. Koenen-J. Kramer, 'Ein Hymnus auf den Allgott', *ZPE* 4 [1969], 19-21). Athena's peculiar solar nature, however, finds echoes in art. On a mosaic floor from Tusculum dated to the imperial era (Plate 2), now in

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lion); H. Hoffmann, 'Helios', *JARCE* 2 (1963), 117-124; A. Delatte-Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris 1964), nrs. 295-297, 300-301; Geissen, *Sammlung Köln* 3, e.g., nrs. 2019 (Marcus Aurelius), 2342 (Elagabal).

[9] M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* (London 1963), 112-113; C. Letta, 'Helios - Sol', *LIMC* IV (1988), nrs. 242-255; also F. Cumont, 'La théologie solaire du paganisme romain', *MAI* 12.2 (1913), 447-479; Merkelbach, *Mithras*, 25-26 and pls. 4-5, 55, ■.

[10] S. Eitrem, 'Zur Apotheose', *SO* 11 (1932), 17-20; J.A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart 1939), 129-134; A.E.-M. El-Khachab, "O ΚΑΡΑΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ', *JEA* 47 (1961), 119-133; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesenart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* (Mainz 1967), 13-16, 41-47; Alföldi, *Repräsentation*, 257-263; R. Turcan, 'Le culte impérial au IIIème siècle', *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978), 1046-1049, 1072-1073; C. Letta, 'Helios - Sol', *LIMC* IV (1988), nrs. 408-422.

the Sala a Croce Greca in the Vatican, a bust of Athena appears in a central tondo, framed by a ring showing "the globes of the sun and moon with interspersed stars on a blue ground. The sun and moon are repeated in various phases, positions and degrees of visibility," suggesting Athena's power over these celestial cycles (K. Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', *Art Bull.* 27 [1945], 6; Lehmann, 5 dates the mosaic to about the middle of the first century A.D., whereas M.E. Blake, 'Mosaics of the Late Roman Empire in Rome and Vicinity', *MAAR* 17 [1940], 108 suggests a third century A.D. date; see now LIMC II [1984] s.v. 'Athena - Minerva' nr. 3).[11]

Geographically closer to the papyrus is a series of Egyptian terracotta figurines of uncertain date in which Athena seems to be wearing a radiate diadem: W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten, Königliches Museum zu Berlin* (Berlin 1914), 117 nr. 165 pl. 17; E. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites d'Egypte de la Collection Fouquet* (Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg 1921), 68 nr. 167 pl. 58; and Cairo Egyptian Museum, inv. nr. 60589 (unpublished). Such is V. Tran Tam Tinh's interpretation: "statuettes où le casque est remplacé par un diadème radié" (*BCH* suppl. XIV [1986], 356). Weber, however, speaks of "ein languettenartig geriefeltes Diadem" (*loc. cit.*), while Perdrizet observes that the goddess wears the *stephane* (*loc. cit.*). The photographs available in early publications do not unequivocally confirm the newly proposed identification.

Isis is yet another deity who, in the Hellenistic period, can rule the sky (Dunand, *Isis* I, 22-26; H. Jackson, 'ΚΟΡΗ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ', *Cd'E* 61 [1986], 116-135). In the aretalogy from Kyme (= *REG* 42 [1929], 138-139), which dates to the first or the second century A.D. and is the most complete of the five Greek inscriptions known as aretalogies of Isis,[12] the goddess proclaims that

[11] The deity depicted with nimbus and dotted rays around the head on a painted wooden tablet recovered in the excavation of a house in Tebtynis in the early 1900's has, after cleaning, been shown to be not Athena but a bearded Heros (O. Rubensohn, 'Aus griechisch-römischen Häusern des Fayum', *JDAI* 20 [1905], 16-22, pls. 1-2 = *LIMC* II [1984] s.v. 'Athena (in Aegypto)' nr. 1 = East Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum Inv. Nr. 15979). "Die erste Veröffentlichung im Jahrbuch des Instituts benutzte nämlich ein Aquarell von Bollacher, der das beschädigte und verschmutzte Bild falsch interpretierte." (Dr. J.S. Karig *per litteram*, 2.16.1988).

[12] Most recent work on the aretalogies includes: A. Henrichs, 'The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of the Isis Aretalogies', *HSCP* 88 (1984), 152-158, and J. Leclant, 'Aegyptiaca et les milieux isiaques. Recherches

she *is* in the sun rays ('Εγὼ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς εἰμί, line 44). The author of the early imperial invocation from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. XI 1380) asserts that Isis leads the sun from rise to sunset: ἥλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆ̣ς | μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρε[ι]ς (lines 157-158), and in Apuleius, Lucius declares that she imparts light ■ the sun: *tu rotas orbem, luminas solem* (11.25; cf. Griffiths, *Isis-Book*, 322).

14-15 ἀκτεῖσι κεφαλῆ̣ς, εἶτα καὶ μήνης κύκλα
θείαις παρειαῖς, κόσμον ὠλέναις διπλαῖς.

"further (you bear) the disk of the moon on your divine cheeks, and the world in your two hands."

μήνη is Homeric and is seldom found in post-Homeric verse. Neither Hesiod nor the Lyric poets use it; Pindar, Aeschylus and Euripides have it once (*Ol.* 3.20; *Prom.* 797; F 1009 N²). See also *Hymns to the Moon*, LIX 9.23 and 10.20 and 24 Heitsch (= PGM IV 2265, 2815, 2821). On the names of the moon, see Roscher, *Selene*, 16-18.

κύκλος designates the disk of the sun (e.g., Aesch., *Pers.* 504; Hdt. 2.132), that of the moon (e.g., Emped. 31 B 43: σεληναίης κύκλον; Eur., *Ion* 1155: κύκλος δὲ πανσέληνος ἠκόντιζ' ἄνω), and even the lunar crescent (Moschus, *Europa* 87-88: ἷσά τ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κέρα ἀνέτελλε καρήνου | ἄντυγος ἡμιτόνου κεραῆς ἅτε κύκλα σελήνης;[13] Nonnus, *Dionys.* 22. 353). Cf. Roscher, *Selene*, 19-21. Here, we are perhaps to imagine that the horns of the moon appear on either side of Athena's head, as the lunar crescent on the bust of Luna from Viano Romano, now in the Louvre, reproduced in Merkelbach, *Mithras*, pl. 70. The 'disk of the moon' thus becomes part of the goddess' face, an assimilation aided by the fact that κύκλα meaning 'disk of

sur la diffusion du matériel ■ des idées égyptiennes', *ANRW* II 17.3 (1984), 1694-1700. Also ■. Malaise, 'La piété personnelle dans ■ religion isiaque', *L'expérience de la prière dans les grandes religions* (Homo Religiosus 5, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980), esp. 92-114.

[13] The grammatical construction and precise translation are much debated: "Equal horns grew on both sides out of his (sc. the bull's) head like the disk of the semi-circular rim of the horned moon" ("like crescents of the horned moon when her rim is half" [S.F. Gow, *The Greek Bucolic Poets* [Cambridge 1953]; "gleiche Hörner stiegen, eins gegenüber dem anderen, aus dem Kopf empor in einem Halbrund, wie der (Halb)kreis des gehörnten Mondes" [Bühler, *Europa*, 37, cf. 137-139]; *alii aliter*).

the moon' could be combined with κύκλα προσώπου, 'circles of the face', i.e. 'cheeks' (Hippocr., *Morb.* 2.50; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 1.527, 15.219, 18.333). If this interpretation is correct, the association of the lunar crescent with the divine face would be significant, for in Egypt the moon was depicted as a disk resting on horns (cf. the hieroglyphic sign 𓇳); the combination of the moon's dual aspect represented the planet's totality (H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* [Berlin 1952], 470). Hence, as Athena's nimbus is a metaphor for the sun,[14] so her cheeks bear the likeness of the moon. She simultaneously assumes characteristics of Helios and Selene. Alternatively, παρειαῖς could refer to the crescent shaped cheek-pieces of a helmet,[15] although the goddess is not described as wearing any headgear.

In Homer the adjective θεῖος never refers to individual gods nor to their physical appearance but, instead, characterizes, e.g., heroes (*Il.* 19.297), heralds (*Il.* 10.315) or rhapsodists (*Il.* 18.604), and assemblies (human worshippers in *Il.* 7.297, Olympian gathering in *Il.* 18.376). In Pindar and dramatic poetry, however, the word is commonly applied to divine beings and attributes: so to Zeus' eagle in Pind., *Ol.* 2.88 (Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον), Apollo's mouth in Aesch., TrGF 3, F 350.5 Radt (τὸ Φοίβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα), or Zeus' scepter in Soph. *Phil.* 139-140 (τὸ θεῖον | Διὸς σκῆπτρον).

Associations between Athena and the moon are not uncommon. Suffice it to quote Plutarch's testimony on the assimilation between the two: *De facie* 922 a: τὴν σελήνην – – – Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνακαλοῦντας, and 938 b: οὕτω τὴν σελήνην, Ἀθηνᾶν λεγομένην καὶ οὖσαν. Cf. Roscher, *Selene*, 123-124; Schauenburg, *Helios*, 32 n. 272; Buffière, *Mythes*, 201 n. 76; P. Chuvin (ed.), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques* (Paris 1976), on 5.73. The goddess' relation to Helios and Selene is probably fashioned after the assimilation Isis-Helios-Selene, for Isis, too, has clear associations with the moon. In Egypt, Isis is no other than the moon: τὴν δ' Ἶσιν οὐχ ἑτέραν τῆς σελήνης ἀποφαίνοντες (Plut., *De Iside* 372 d); she is so called in Thessaly: ἐν Θετταλοῖς | σελήνην (P. Oxy. XI 1380.104), and elsewhere orders the

[14] According to Servius, the halo is conventional in paintings of divinities: *est enim fulgidum lumen quo deorum capita cinguntur. sic etiam pingi solet* (*in Aen.* 2.616).

[15] So in *Hom. Il. Helios* 11 where παρειά is used for παρήϊον (*Il.* 4.142); cf. LSJ s.v. παρειά II.

course of the moon: Ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνη[ς] πορείαν συνεταξάμην (Kyme 14 = Ios 11). Cf. Dunand, *Isis* III, 278; A.E.- M. El-Khashab, 'The Cocks, the Cat, and the Chariot of the Sun', *ZPE* 55 (1984), 221 n. 32. Further, her identification with Athena is well attested: P. Oxy. XI 1380.29-30 and note *ad loc.* ■ ed. pr.; Plut., *De Iside* 354 c and J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside ■ Osiride* (Cardiff 1970), 283-285; Apul., *Met.* 11. 5 and Griffiths, *Isis-Book*, 149; Dunand, *Isis* I, 124-125 and II, 4-17; Clarysse - Quaegebeur - Van Maele, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 219.

The connection between Athena and astral symbols ■ corroborated by images in both Greek and Roman art. For example, on the Attic red-figure neck-amphora by the Nausicaa Painter of c. 450-425 B.C., now in Munich (Museum für Kleinkunst Inv. 2322 = ARV², 1107.2), a crescent moon surrounded by stars shaped like spots adorn the aegis in lieu of the gorgoneion (N. Yalouris, 'Astral Representations in the Archaic and Classical Periods and their Connection ■ Literary Sources', *AJA* 84 [1980], 316, pl. 40, fig. 12). In a later period, one can turn to the Tusculan mosaic floor mentioned earlier (pp. 42-43).

Lines 13-15 is comparable ■ *Hom. H. Helios* 9-13 where the description similarly unfolds from the eyes, the head as a whole, then the cheeks:

> εμερδνὸν δ' ὅ γε δέρκεται ὄσσοις
> χρυσῆς ἐκ κόρυθος λαμπραὶ δ' ἀκτῖνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
> αἰγλῆεν στίλβουσι, παρὰ κροτάφων τε παρειαὶ
> λαμπραὶ ἀπὸ κρατὸς χαρίεν κατέχουσι πρόσωπον
> τηλαυγές

> "With piercing eyes he gazes from his golden helmet; luminous rays beam dazzlingly from him and brilliant cheek-pieces stream from his head over his temples and gracefully enclose his far-seen face."

In poetry, κόσμος generally means 'order', 'ornament'. Cf. J. Puhvel, 'The Origins of Greek *Kosmos* and Latin *Mundus*', *AJP* 97 (1976), 154-167. Here it perhaps denotes the οἰκουμένη as in, e.g., the inscription from Adule on the Arabic Gulf, in which Ptolemy III Euergetes sums up his political achievements: ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσας πάντα τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ κόσμον (OGIS I 199.35), or SIG³ 814.31 (of Nero): ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος Νέρων.

Strictly speaking, ὠλένη designates the forearm (e.g., Aesch., *Prom.* 60), but ■ actual meanings range from shoulders (Eur., *Pho.* 164-165: περὶ δ' ὠλένας | δέρᾳ φιλτάτᾳ βάλοιμι) to hands (Eur., *I.T.* 966: ψήφους διηρίθμησε Παλλὰς ὠλένῃ, *H.F.* 1381: εἶτ' ἐγὼ τάδ' ὠλέναις οἴσω; TrGF 2, Ad. F 705 a.3-4: μ]αζὸν ὠλέναις | κόπτουσα). Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I, on 1381 notes that the use of ὠλένη for χείρ ■ a typical Euripidean catachresis, which only Lycophron enjoyed to imitate (*Alex.* 205, 331, 1183 and *Schol.*); cf. E.R. Dodds, *Euripides' Bacchae* (Oxford 1944), on 1125-1127; J. Roux, *Euripide. Les Bacchantes* II (Paris 1972), 583. In this context, the most plausible interpretation of the word is in reference to the hands.

For the tragic use of the plural of διπλοῦς ■ the sense of δύο: e.g., Aesch., *Prom.* 950-951: μηδέ μοι διπλᾶς | ὁδούς, Προμηθεῦ, προσβάλῃς, Soph., *O.T.* 20-21: Παλλάδος διπλοῖς | ναοῖς, and Eur., *Helen* 1164: σωτῆρε δ' ἡμεῖς σῷ κασιγνήτῳ διπλῷ; also Lycophr., *Alex.* 1295.

Thus, Athena holds the world, if such is the meaning of *kosmos*, with both hands. In the aretalogy from Kyme, Isis introduces herself as the absolute ruler of every land: Εἶσι ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ τύραννος πάσης χώρας (line 3a); in his third hymn Isidorus calls her κόσμου ἅπαν διάγουσα (line 26); and Lucius proclaims *regis mundum* (11.25). Similarly, πάντα κό[σμον] is the attractive supplement in line ■ of the Epidaurian hymn to Athena (above pp. 39-40).

The concept of world-empire, which Hellenistic kings inherited from Alexander, found its expression in art in the motif of the globe. With Augustus the sphere became the symbol of the emperor's power over the earth, the pendant to Jupiter's reign over the cosmic world. Whether the globe represents the dome of the sky or the shape of the earth does not matter overly, for once made into the symbol of earthly and, or, heavenly power, the globe became the absolute attribute of rulers. Cf. P. E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens* (Stuttgart 1958), 12-14 and pls. 1-3; A. Grabar, 'Zur Geschichte von Sphaira, Globus und Reichapfel', *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Paris 1968), 103-104 (repr. review of Schramm).

Images of Isis "cosmocrateira" first appeared in the Roman period. This iconographic type in which the bust of the divinity rests above a globe was probably modelled on similar images of Sarapis and ultimately derived from

imperial iconography (P. Hombert, *AC* 14 [1945], 328-329). One such is a recently published terracotta bust of Isis (Plate 3 a; cf. J. J.V.M. Derksen-M. J. Vermaseren, 'Isis kosmokrateira', *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di A. Adriani* III [Rome 1984], 430-432, pl. LXXVI 1). The piece was purchased in Izmir, but may have been imported to Smyrna from Alexandria; it dates to the second half of the second century A.D. The globe under the knot of the goddess' chest identifies her as a cosmocrator.[16] This motif, relatively rare in Isiac iconography, also appears in representations of Zeus, Hermes and Mithra,[17] and it seems to occur at least once among the images of Athena. A small bronze bust of Athena from the Castellani collection (Plate 3 b), said to be from Rome and now in the British Museum (BMC Bronzes 1062), depicts the goddess above a spherical form which might represent the globe (cf. Mrs. S.A. Strong, *JRS* 6 [1916], 32-43 and fig. 3).[18]

The image of Athena holding the world in both hands is highly problematic. Not only is it uncharacteristic of the goddess, but it is also an unprecedented figuration of the cosmocrator, for in art, be the cosmocrator god or man, he always carries the sphere in one hand. Apollo on a wall painting from Pompeii (Brendel, *Sphere*, pl. 17), and Mithra on a Roman relief found in Trier (R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, pl. 90; also pl. 139) hold the world in the left hand. The emperors also carry the globe in one hand: H.P. L' Orange, 'Sol Invictus Imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose', *SO* 14 (1935), 86-114; Alföldi, *Repräsentation*, 236 and table I. The idea is, of course, much older and Egyptian in origin: Callim., *H. to Delos*, 166-170 (cf. L. Koenen, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 180-190; D. Potter, *ZPE* 69 [1987], 273).

The phrase κόσμον ὤλέναις διπλαῖς also recalls the description of Atlas in Hes., *Theog.* 746-747, but the omission of κεφαλῇ alters the image. It is conceivable that the expression describes a non-Greek notion, perhaps the Egyptian gesture of protection, a concept represented by the hieroglyph

[16] Doubts about any specific interpretation of the globe set beneath busts of Isis and Sarapis are expressed by V. Tran Tam Tinh, 'Etat des études iconographiques relatives à Isis, Sérapis et Sunnaoi Theoi', *ANRW* II 17,3 (1984), 1735 with n. 105.

[17] Κοσμοκράτωρ is the epithet of these and other solar deities: Montevecchi, *Studi Adriani e Paribeni* II (1957), 409-411.

[18] Walters (BMC Bronzes, 190) notes that the bust "has been attached as an ornament to some object, of which a portion remains."

(Koenen).[19] See Assmann, *Hymnen*, 175 (Hymn ■ Sun god nr. 64, lines 5-9); M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. 2: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley-London 1976), 96-97 (Great Hymn to the Aten, lines 7-8: "Your rays embrace the lands, / To the limit of all that you made"). This could then lead ■ line 16, "You are everything (or, rule all things)."

In lines 13-15 (excepting the phrase ὠλέναις διπλαῖς) the goddess is described in purely astronomical terms, a device already introduced in line 7 (οὐρανοῦ θάλος [στέφος]). The description combines abstraction and symbolism; Athena not only displays the sun beams on the radiated nimbus about her head and the disk of the moon on her cheeks, but her head embodies the sun and her cheeks the moon. Bodily parts are frequently used as metaphors for geographical locations, celestial bodies and phenomena.[20] For the latter, see Hermes Trismegistus, *Corpus Hermeticum* IV F 24, 11 Festugière, where the Earth is depicted in seven anatomical parts. However, the clearest illustration is perhaps found in the *Theogony* ascribed ■ Orpheus:

> πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται·
> τοῦ δή τοι κεφαλὴ μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
> οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
> ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠρέθονται.
> ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα
> ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανιώνων,
> ὄμματα δ' ἠέλιος καὶ παμφανόωσα σελήνη·
> οὖς δέ οἱ ἀψευδὲς βασιλήιον ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ,
> ὠὶ δὴ πάντα κλύει καὶ φράζεται·

■ F. Dunand, 'Gestes symboliques', *CRIPEL* 9 (1987), 81-87 discusses the standing figures which appear on stelae recovered at Kom Abu Bellou and which confront the viewer with their two arms raised and the palms of their hands facing, an ambivalent gesture of prayer and/or of exultation. She concludes: "Les gestes symboliques des défunts ..., dans leurs variations, relèvent probablement des deux traditions culturelles; ils devaient être familiers et compréhensibles aux Egyptiens comme aux Grecs, sans qu'une signification unique et exclusive puisse leur être attachée" (87).

[20] E.g., Callim., *Hymn to Delos* 48, where reference is made to the water-drenched 'breast' of the island of Parthenia, and Mineur, *Delos*, 91-92 on the double meaning of μαστός. Also, L. Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art: the Human Body as Image of the World* (New Haven 1975), 22-25 on the pairing of features of anatomy and cosmography in astrology.

ὦμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο
ἀὴρ εὐρυβίης·

F 123.12-20, 26-27 Abel

"For all these elements rest in the vast body of Zeus. Just behold his head: his handsome face is the gleaming sky all around which, very beautiful, the golden hair of the twinkling stars hang floating; the two horns on either side of his head are the rising and the setting, paths of the heavenly gods, and his eyes are the sun and the bright moon; his truthful royal ear is the ever being ether through which he hears and observes all ... The god's shoulders, his chest and broad back are the mighty air."

16 σὺ κυρεῖς τὰ πάντα, διὰ σὲ δ' εἰσορῶ φάος

"You are everything; thanks to you I see the light of life"

The consecutive assimilations between Athena and celestial bodies in lines 13-15 eventually lead to the declaration that she is "all". This affirmation explains the personal nature of the speaker's last praises of the goddess, for his safety and fate rest upon the will of the world's all powerful force.

The anaphora of the pronoun σύ in lines 16-18 is characteristic of the hymnic style (e.g., Callim., *Hymn to Zeus* 45-47; *Orph. H.* 27 [Cybele] 7-9; Lucret. 1.4-13). It is well illustrated in the praises of Isis where the dedicator celebrates the goddess' power in the second person: *Maronea Hymn* 31, 34, 35 Grandjean; *Isidorus Hymns* I, 9 and 11; P. Oxy. XI 1380.146, 151, 158, 160. For the origins and illustrations, both Greek and Latin, of what has been termed the *"Du"-Stil der Prädikation*, see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 149-160.

κυρέω here seems to be the copula (LSJ s.v. II 3). Cf. τὰ πάντα predicate in Aesch., *Heliades* TrGF 3 F 70 Radt: Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, | Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον, and *id.*, *Myrmidons*, TrGF 3 F 132 c.11 Radt: οὔκ εἰμ' ἐγὼ τὰ πάντα Ἀχαικῶι στρατῶι; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 245-250 and Gow on Theocr. 14.47 (add Men., *Samia* 379; Ael. Aristides, *Sar.* 24; *1 Cor.* 8.6; *Col.* 3.11). Cp. *omnia Caesar erat* (Lucan 3.108) and *Trimalchionis topanta est* (Petronius 37.4).

The affirmation of Athena's sway is unadorned and direct: "you are the universe". Hymns often stress the absolute power of the gods: *Hom. H. Dem.* 365: δεσπόσεις πάντων, *Orph. H.* 68 (Hygieia) 11: πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις, and Cleanthes, F 1.2 p. 227 Powell: (Zeus) πάντα κυβερνῶν. Cf. Keyssner, *Hymnus*, 30-32, 36, 40. On the tendency in late antiquity to present the deity invoked in a prayer or hymn as the only important god, see L. Koenen, *loc. cit.* (above p. 12, n. 40). Δέσποινα is a very frequent appellative of Athena (e.g., Soph., *Ai.* 105; Arist., *Knights* 763), and the equivalent of κυρία in literary, cultic and vernacular languages (cf. A. Henrichs, 'Despoina Kybele: Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Namenkunde', *HSCP* 80 [1976], 255 n. 7, 261-266; Pleket, *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 174-175). Κυρία is not documented as an epithet of Athena in literary sources, but is attested on an ostracon from Esna dated to the 1st-2nd century A.D. and inscribed with an invocation to the goddess: C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 101-109. It has also been proposed for incomplete inscriptions consecrated to Athena: SEG 4 (1929) nr. 164, a dedicatory inscription to Elagabal from Cordoba, and SEG 7 (1934) nr. 1103, a 2nd-3rd century A.D. inscribed abacus from Athelai (Arabia).

Κύριος was a very common appellative of gods, especially in the East, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. So were called, e.g., Tyche (Men., *Aspis* 147, and Groton, *Aspis*, 9), Sebek (P. Tebt. II 284.6, 1st century B.C.), Zeus (SEG 2 [1925] nr. 830, Damascus, 3rd century A.D.), Artemis (IG XIV 1124, Tibur, 2nd century A.D.). Cf. F. Pfister, *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig 1930), 246-247; Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 135-136; Pleket, *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 176. Isis was the κυρία par excellence: e.g., *Kyme Hymn* (1st-2nd century A.D.), 41: Ἐγώ εἰμι πολέμου κυρία, or P. Oxy. XI 1380.24: [κυ]ρείαν πάσης χώρας. Cf. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, 19; Bergman, *Isis*, 302.

Favorable divine action can be expressed by διά and the accusative: e.g., Hom., *Od.* 8.520; Hes., *Op.* 3 and West *ad loc.*; Arist., *Ploutos* 145, and *Birds* 1728, 1753 (cf. E. Fränkel, *Kleine Beiträge* I [Rome 1964], 451 n. 2 on *Birds* 1752); Ael. Arist. 45.14 Keil (Sarapis). On prepositional formulas, see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 347-348; Kleinknecht, *Gebetsparodie*, 211-212; W. Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus* (Berlin 1964, 2nd ed.), 23-24. The phrase φάος εἰσορᾶν, attested in its literal meaning in e.g., Hom., *Il.*

14.345; Hes., *Theog.* 451 (interpol.); and Soph., *Phil.* 663, has come to be synonymous with 'to live' in Euripides; e.g., *Ion* 345: Ὁ δ' ἐκτεθεὶς παῖς ποῦ 'στιν; Εἰσορᾷ φάος; or *Alc.* 18 (cf. also PMG Ad. 934.22-24 Page and Heitsch LIX 4.9). Isis is also closely connected with light, which she is said to sway: σὺ κ[α]ὶ φωτὸς κα[ὶ] φλ[ε]γμάτων κυ[β]ία (P. Oxy. XI 1380, 248-249); *Isidorus Hymns* II 11, 14 and Vanderlip, *Hymns*, *ad loc.*

At lines 16-17, to close the invocation, the fully syncretistic features of an "Allgott" are bestowed upon Athena: she is everything. Isis, too, is παντοκράτειρα (Isidorus Hymns I 2; P. Oxy. XI 1380.20; cf. Montevecchi, *Studi Adriani e Paribeni* II [1957], 404-405 and 413-418; Dunand, *Isis* II, 165 and III, 270-271; Pleket, *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 171-172; J. Leclant, 'Isis, déesse universelle et divinité locale, dans le monde gréco-romain', *BCH* suppl. XIV [1986], 341-352), and in her self-proclamation from Kyme she declares: Ἐμοὶ πάντ' ἐπείκει (K 47). Thus, the participation of Isis in the cosmic elements sheds light on Athena's own associations with those forces and suggests that the Athena invoked in the Cologne papyrus be identified, at least in part, with Isis.[21]

P. Oxy. XI 1380.30 records that in the Saïte Nome Isis is worshipped as "victorious, Athena, nymph" (ἐν τῷ Σαίτῃ ν[ι]κήτ[ριαν, Ἀ]θήνην, νύμφην), an equation also reported by Plutarch: τὸ δ' ἐν Σάϊ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, [ὃ] ἣν καὶ Ἶσιν νομίζουσιν, ἔδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαύτην 'ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω ὑνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν' (*De Iside* 354 c). In Saïs Athena is identified with Neith, an assimilation fostered by the martial attributes of both goddesses as well as by close ties between Saïs and Athens (Diod. 1.28.4 and cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 11.5). Hence, Isis-Athena of Saïs is Neith. Cf. P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites de la collection Fouquet* I (1921), 65-70; J. Quaegebeur, 'Cultes égyptiens et grecs en Egypte hellénistique', *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Studia Hellenistica 27, Leuven 1983), 309-310 and 318-319; J. Quaegebeur -W. Clarysse-B. Van Maele, 'Athena, Neith and Thoeris in Greek Documents', *ZPE* 60

[21] A bronze statuette unearthed at Ephesus and dated to the second or third century A.D. represents Isis with the wings of Nike, the quiver of Artemis and the aegis of Athena; the goddess holds both elm and cornucopia, and her radiate head is crowned with the basileion (on top of which a bird is perched). Cf. G. Hoetbl, *Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus* (EPRO 73, Leiden 1978), 59-61, pl. 8, 1 a-b.

(1985), 218-224. General bibliography on Athena in Egypt is collected in *LIMC* II 1 (1984), p. 1044. Similarly, Pallas in P. Köln VI 245 is a syncretistic figure, and a grafting of the Egyptian experience onto a literary creation, even if written by an Egyptian, in the Greek tradition.[22]

17-18 Concluding Prayer

Hymns usually begin with invocations and end with a personal request (cf. J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales* [Geneva 1958], 191-196; Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, on lines 490-495). The appeal is commonly expressed by the optative of wish: e.g., Bacchyl., *Epigr.* 1.2-3: (Nike) πρόφρων Κραναϊδῶν ἱμερόεντα χορόν | αἰὲν ἐποπτεύοις; Theocr., *Diosc.* 214-215: ἡμετέροις κλέος ὕμνοις | ἐσθλὸν ἀεὶ πέμποιτε; *Orph. H. 13* (Chronos) 10: πέμποις.[23] Cf. K. Ziegler, *De precationum apud Graecos formis quaestiones selectae* (Breslau 1905), 10-17; Keyssner, *Hymnus*, 43; W.H. Race, 'Aspects of Rhetoric and Form in Greek Hymns', *GRBS* 23 (1982), 10-13. For Egyptian hymnic prayers, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (above p. 45), s.v. 'Gebet'.

βυθῶν πλα ς

17-18 σοῦ μοι [π]έλα[ς] φύγοιμι καὶ θεῶν ὀργήν,
δυνάμει δὲ τ[ῇ] σῇ καὶ τὸ νῦν θαρρ[ε]ῶν περῶ

17 σοῦ μοι [π]έλας Gronewald, Austin, West Suprascript, βυθῶν West ; πλάνος Koenen tentatively ("as wanderer I would escape even from the depths", sc. of the sea)

> "With you at my side, I would avoid the wrath of the gods, and by aid of your power I also go through today's trial with confidence."

In the rare and slightly odd phrase σοῦ μοι [π]έλα[ς] ("with you near me") the participle οὔσης is omitted as in Soph., *O.C.* 83: ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας. Cf. J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* 1 (Basel 1950, 2nd ed.), 294.

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[22] "Les images d'Athéna en Egypte portent en majorité des traits qui, tout en les rattachant à l'imagerie grecque traditionnelle comme ailleurs, les en éloignent en même temps grâce à une nouvelle combinaison incompréhensible sous d'autres cieux" (Tran Tam Tinh, *BCH* suppl. XIV [1986], 359).

[23] However, the form φύγοιμι in the Cologne papyrus is perhaps best taken as a potential optative without ἄν.

The blank in the papyrus after οι could be fortuitous, or could have been reserved ■ be filled in later (single letters are omitted in lines 11, 13, 31, and 35). The form φύγοιμι is a potential optative without ἄν (Kannicht, Koenen, Lloyd-Jones): Kühner-Gerth II 1, 225-226, and Barrett, *Hippolytos*, on line 1186.

ὀργήν at the end of the line is unmetrical, unless it is scanned ⏑ – (Haslam, Parsons; see p. 10). The badly damaged alternative expression written above the last two words of the line may have been meant as a correction. In tragedy ὀργή commonly refers to the wrath of the gods: e.g., Soph., *Ai.* 776-777: ἀστεργῆ θεᾶς | ἐκτήσατ' ὀργήν, or TrGF 2, Ad. F 296.1: ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάπτῃ τινά. Other expressions of the same concept include νέμεσις: e.g., Soph., *Phil.* 518: τὰν θεῶν νέμεσιν ἐκφυγών.

The interpretation of line 17 can ■ twofold. The speaker may allude to his flight after the fall of Troy (cf. ἐκφεύξομαι in line 3), or refer to the action at hand which Athena may have requested from him and to which he implicitly agrees. Either action risks the wrath of the gods. His dilemma is evident: if he disobeys Athena he will incur her anger; ■ he obeys he will be exposed to the wrath of all gods. In the latter case, however, Athena, in her rôle of the pantocrator exalted in the preceding hymn, might shield him.

If the supralinear change is read correctly, the poet, in the end, wanted the sentence ■ refer to the speaker's long migrations on his way home and his final salvation from the sea. This would perfectly suit Odysseus, and the audience would have easily recognized this wanderer κατ' ἐξοχήν, but Antenor cannot be ruled out.[24] In any case, the speaker seems to know his fate as well as Achilleus knew that he was ■ die young.

[24] By the fourth century B.C. the traditional iconography of Odysseus had become that of the sailor (readily identified by his cap, the *pilos*) and much suffering sea wanderer; cf. E. Paribeni, 'Ulisse', *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica* VII (Rome 1966), 1048; O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysséens dans l'art antique* (Paris 1968), 297-298 and pl. nrs. 13, 16, and 369; Brommer, *Odysseus*, 110-112 and pls. 12, 34, tables 21 and 28a; and E. La Rocca, 'L'Odissea di marmo', *Archeo* ■ (1987) 18-15, esp. 18-20 (the Polyphemus group from the grotto of the villa of Tiberius near Sperlonga); I owe the last reference to A.E. Hanson who also compares Soranus, *vita Hippocr.* 12 (p. 177 Ilberg) where several explanations are offered for the *pilos* worn by Hippocrates as well as by Odysseus: according to some it is τοῦ φιλαποδήμου τεκμήριον. Especially in neo-Platonist philosophy and in Christian interpretation, Odysseus became the image of the soul wandering in this world (F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et ■ pensée grecque* (Paris 1956) 413-

18 δυνάμει δὲ τ[ῇ] σῇ καὶ τὸ νῦν θαρρ[ε]ῶν περῶ

δύναμις expresses divine power and its manifestation: e.g., *Hom. H. Hermes* 117; Hes., *Theog.* 420; Eur., *Alc.* 219; *Isidorus Hymns* I 11, 25, and IV 39. Cp. *tua ui* in Lucr. I 13. Cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 150-154; Keyssner, *Hymnus*, 48-49; [illegible] Fascher, 'dynamis', *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* IV (Stuttgart 1959), 417-426; West, on *Theog.* 420; Vanderlip, *Hymns, ad loc.*; Nock, *Essays* I, 34-35; F. Williams, *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo. A Commentary* (Oxford 1978), on line 29; A. Henrichs - L. Koenen, 'Der Kölner Mani Codex. Seiten 99,10 - 120', *ZPE* 44 (1981), 317-318; Pleket, *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 178-183. During the Hellenistic period the goddess Athena, too, became a more active wonder worker: Pleket, *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 157; A. Henrichs, *HSCP* 88 (1984), 139 with n. 2.

περάω, 'to pass through a space' (e.g., *Od.* 24. 118; *Theog.* 427; [Eur.], *Rhes.* 437), [illegible] also used metaphorically, as in Aesch., *Cho.* 270: τόνδε κίνδυνον περᾶν. The expression τὸ νῦν περῶ, "I go through today's trial", may refer to Odysseus' mission to deliver a written message to Helen (line 19). Alternatively, τὸ νῦν could be adverbial and περῶ construed with εἰς Φρύγας (Haslam). The expression καὶ τὸ νῦν recalls prayers [illegible] which deities are reminded of former favors they bestowed upon those who prayed to them: Eur., *Alc.* 223, *I.T.* 1082-1085; P. Mich. Inv. 6973, fr. 1 lines 18 and [illegible] (Bonnycastle - Koenen edd., forthcoming [see above p. 2 n. 5]). In the present context περῶ could also echo, with a pun, Athena's encouraging δ[ι]αυτερῶ in line 3.

The form θαρρεων (Π) is, in light of line 22, a mispelling for θαρρῶν. Θαρρεῖν often appears [illegible] a religious context, either in the imperative, when a god stirs the faith and confidence of man (*Hom. H. Dionys.* 55: Θάρσει, τόδ' ἑκάστωρ, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ, *Hom. H. Aphrodite* 193; Eur., *Bacch.* 607; Isyllos, *Paean* 73, p. 134 Powell), or in the participle, when an individual acknowledges divine presence and aid (*Maronea Hymn* 11-12 Grandjean : θαρ|ρῶν οὖν πορεύομαι πρὸς τὰ λοιπά). On the symbolic and mystic implications of the verb, see R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich-Berlin 1962), 100, 212 n. 6 and *passim*; Grandjean, *Maronée*, 42-

417 and 589; H. Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche. Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* | Salzburg 1964] 243-271; *idem*, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* [Darmstadt 1957] 414-444; Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysséens*, 293-294). For the migrations of Antenor see p. 82, n. 18.

43; A. Henrichs-L. Koenen, 'Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. Inv. Nr. 4780)', *ZPE* 19 (1975), 82 n. 103.

The θάρσος which Athena gives to her protégés is martial in nature: in Hom., *Il.* 5, 1-2, for example, she inspires strength and confidence ■ Diomedes: Διομήδεϊ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη | δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, and in SIG³ 709 (107 B.C.) she appears ■ Diophantes of Sinope, general of Mithridates Eupator, and emboldens the Chersonians in their fight against the Scythians: ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι γενομένων σημείων, θάρσος δὲ καὶ τόλμαν ἐνεποίησε πάντι τῶι στρατοπέδωι (lines 24-25). Cp. *Isidorus Hymns* III 18: [Isis' strength] ὀλίγοισι δὲ θάρσος ἔ[δωκε.

19-22 Soliloquy

Odysseus is sent ■ Troy to deliver written messages to Helen, and intends ■ enter the city by means of a disguise (lines 19-21). He is aware of the goddess' presence, and invokes her assistance in his coming venture (in line 22).

19-20 γραφὰς κομίζ[ω]ν πρὸς Λάκαιναν εἰς Φρύγας.
ἅπαντα δράς[ω]·

"As I bring letters to the Laconian woman in Troy; I shall do everything."

The paragraphus below line 19 merely indicates a new section in Odysseus' speech — possibly an aside — as lines 19 and 20-22 are most likely uttered by the same speaker (see below pp. 80-83).

Written messages are common dramatic catalysts in Greek tragedy. They are called ἐπιστολαί (Soph., *Andromeda*, TrGF 4 F 128 Radt; Eur., *Hipp.* 858), δέλτον (Eur., *I.T.* 584), or γραφαί (Eur., *Hipp.* 1311: ψευδεῖς γραφὰς ἔγραψε, *I.T.* 735-736: τάσδε πορθμεύσειν γραφὰς | πρὸς Ἄργος). Odysseus' delivery of letters to Helen in Troy — whether this author's invention or not — introduces a radical novelty in the traditional version of the *ptocheia*, and we can suspect that it led to a recognition scene between Odysseus and Helen. The origin and nature of the letters remain speculative. They could contain a communication from Menelaus, giving her assurances for the future in exchange for collaboration with Odysseus; could warn her of the upcoming final assault against Troy; or could simply reveal the identity of the messenger (below pp. 78-79).

The phrase πρὸς Λάκαιναν lacks the definite article τὴν before Λάκαιναν (cf. εἵνεκεν Λακωνίδος in line 29). Of all extant Greek authors, Euripides alone calls Helen ἡ Λάκαινα: *Tro.* 34-35; *Hec.* 441-442; *Or.* 1438; *Skyrioi*, F 681 N² suppl. He may, however, have borrowed the name from Sophocles' *Lacaenae*. In *Androm.* 486, ἡ Λάκαινα refers to Hermione, the daughter of Helen (*Schol. Androm.* 491). Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2.601: *Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae.*

While Phrygia is distinct from the Trojan kingdom in Homer (*Il.* 3.184-189), in later poetry it came to refer to Troy itself. In tragedy Φρύγες, consequently, means Trojans: e.g., Soph., *Ai.* 1054, and *Lacaenae*, TrGF 4 F 368.2 Radt; Eur., *Androm.* 204; [Eur.], *Rhes.* 357; TrGF 2, Ad. F 560a. Cf. Bacon, *Barbarians*, 101 n. 45; R.C. Jebb, *Sophocles. The Plays and Fragments. VII The Ajax* (Amsterdam 1962), on line 1054.

For ἅπαντα δράσω, see Soph., *O.T.* 145 (πᾶν ἐμοῦ δράσοντος); Eubulus, *Dolon* PCG 5 F 29.3 = F 30.3 Hunter (ἅπαντα δρῶν). Πάντα ποιεῖν is more usual (cf. LSJ s.v. πᾶς D. III, 2): e.g. Men., *Samia* 76 (πάντα ποιήσω). Note, also, the repetitions: πάντα (3, 13), τὰ πάντα (16), and ἅπαντα (20).

20-21 καθ' ὁδὸν ἀλλάξω τύπους
κρύψω πέπλ[ο]υς δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺ̀ ς' θάμνῳ τινί.

21 εμου̣θαμνω Austin ("above the upsilon, there is a trace of ink which harmonizes with faint contours of ς")

> "on my way I shall alter my features and hide my clothes under a bush."

καθ' ὁδὸν signifies 'on my way (sc. to Troy)' (LSJ s.v. κατά B.I 2), and indicates that Odysseus will disguise himself off-stage. Τύπος, 'form' or 'shape', a word first attested in tragedy, here means 'features'. The term is applied to the Furies whom the Pythia tries to identify in the opening scene of the *Eumenides*: οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις (49); and in IG XIV 2135, an epitaph of imperial date from the vicinity of Rome, it refers to the handsome deceased: κάλλος ἔχουσα τύποις[ι] (line 6).

The disfigurement theme in the context of the visit to Helen confirms the identification of the speaker as Odysseus, for self-inflicted disfiguration is a trait common to almost all accounts of the hero's mission in Troy (below pp. 76-79).

Odysseus will hide his clothes under a bush. Archilochus abandons his shield behind a shrub (F 5.1 W.: παρὰ θάμνωι); in Sophocles' *Electra* Orestes hides an important token in a similar place: (τύπωμα χαλκόπλευρον) θάμνοις κεκρυμμένον (55), and the witnesses to Pentheus' death watch the scene from the cover of brambles (Eur., *Bacch.* 722-723). The phrase θάμνῳ τινί echoes Theopompus, CAF I F 68 (ἐν θάμνωι τινί). For the position of δέ, see Denniston, 188; and K.J. Dover, *CQ* 35:2 (1985), 337-338. The deferred particle also suggests that by this date the inhibition against πέπλους is stronger than that against abnormal word-order (Haslam).

πέπλοι usually designates women's garments (e.g., Hom., *Od.* 15.105; Pind., *Pyth.* 9.120), but the tragic poets use it for male clothing too: e.g., Aesch., *Pers.* 199: Ξέρξης, πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν ἀμφὶ σώματι; [Eur.], *Rhes.* 713-714: (Odysseus) ξυφήρης | κρύφιος ἐν πέπλοις.

Odysseus will assume the guise of a mendicant and thus conceal his identity.[25] Κρύπτω belongs to the vocabulary of the *metis*, Odysseus' innate appanage: Detienne-Vernant, *Mètis*, n. 3, 25-31; P. Walcot, 'Odysseus and the Art of Lying', *AncSoc* 8 (1977), 1-19; Murnaghan, *Disguise*, 10-11. Cf. Arist., *Wasps* 350-351: "Εστιν ὁπῆ δῆθ' ἥντιν' ἂν ἔνδοθεν οἷός τ' εἶης διαλέξαι, | εἶτ' ἐκδῦναι ῥάκεσιν κρυφθεὶς ὥσπερ πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς; ("Can you find no cranny or secret run, through which, from within, your path to urge, and then like wily Odysseus, here, disguised in tatters and rags, emerge?").

[ὑ]ὲ γὰρ ἔχω φάος αὖλιν
22 θαρρῶν ἄπε[ιμ]ι· σὺ δὲ θεά παρίσταο.

"I leave with confidence and you, goddess, be at my side."
(Suprascript, "for I rely on you also there again").

[25] Cf. below, pp. 76-78; add: Hom., *Od.* 13.434-437; [Eur.], *Rhes.* 503 and 712-713. On Odysseus' affinity to disguise, see Murnaghan, *Disguise*, 5-11.

ἄπε[ιμ]ι contains a clear indication that Odysseus exits from the stage (cf. Arist., *Thesm.* 279: ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι), and the paragraphus below the line announces a change of speaker. For stage directions implicit in the words, see Bain, *Actors and Audience*, 152-153; O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus. The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford 1977), 28-31; K.B. Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (Oxford 1988), 12-17.

The verb παρίσταμαι epitomizes the relationship between Athena and Odysseus: e.g., Hom., *Od.* 3.222 (Nestor to Telemachus about Odysseus): κείνῳ ἀναφανδὰ παρίστατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, and also *Od.* 20.47; Soph., *Phil.* 134; [Eur.], *Rhes.* 610. Cf. Nock, *Essays* II, 653 ff.; W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme* (Oxford 1954), 25-42; M. Müller, *Athene als göttliche Helferin in der Odyssee. Untersuchungen zur Form der epischen Aristie* (Heidelberg 1966), 92-95; H.S. Versnel, 'Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer', *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 30 with n. 1; Burkert, *Religion*, 141-142; Murnaghan, *Disguise*, 63-65. The closing σὺ δὲ θεὰ recalls Pind., *Ol.* 1.85 (Pelops concludes his prayer to Poseidon): τὺ δὲ πρᾶξιν φίλαν δίδοι, and Theocr., *Pharm.* 33: τὺ δ', Ἄρτεμι.

The suprascript, which introduces a variant for the end of the line above which it stands, is not a common Greek idiom. Ἔχω is usually followed by a second accusative, but the traces above line 23 do not yield such a complement. Had the correction been completed, the paragraphus below line 22 would have had to be replaced. The expression recalls the way Euripides' parent addresses the goddesses at Arist., *Thesm.* 282-283: δέξασθέ με | – – – καὶ δεῦρο (καὶ) πάλιν οἴκαδε.

To remind the goddess of her previous aid is the best way to secure her help for the future. Thus does Odysseus in Soph., *Ai.* 34-35: πάντα γὰρ τά τ' οὖν πάρος | τὰ δ' εἰσέπειτα σῇ κυβερνῶμαι χερί. Mention of past support from the gods is a *topos* in prayers: e.g., Hom., *Il.* 10.278, 280-281 (αἰεί, νῦν αὖτε, πάλιν); Sappho 1.25 L.-P. (ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν); *Isidorus Hymns* III 28 (καὶ ὧδε πάρει). Cf. Adami, *JKP* 1901, 234; W. Horn, *Gebet und Gebetsparodie in den Komödien des Aristophanes* (Nuremberg 1970), 46-47.

23-42 Prologue (?)

The speaker, perhaps Antenor, may have been on stage during Odysseus' intervention which, by convention, he did not hear (cf. Eur., *Hecuba* 736-752, and Bain, *Asides*, 13-15). He now addresses the audience directly and recounts (lines 23-39) the sequence of events that will culminate in the theft of the Palladium, the last condition for the fall of Troy. If Athena is speaking, she now gives the background information necessary to understand Odysseus' mission (see below pp. 83-87).

Accounts of past events, occurring in the midst of current dramatic action are not uncommon (e.g., *Iphigenia in Aulis*). If this speech is to be identified as a "delayed" prologue, then the papyrus preserves a fragment of the beginning of the play.[26]

The break along the left margin of the papyrus starts at line 23 and greatly affects the legibility of the following verses. A horizontal tear slashes column II through lines 23-25. The arrangement between the ends of lines 23-25 and their beginnings can nevertheless be restored thanks to a stroke of ink on the edge of the vertical break to the right of column II. This is the tip of the tail of the final α in a group of three letters -ατα concluding line 24. For such elongated final α, see line 14.

23 ε̣ ν vac δει |
δ̣ε̣ι̣ vac ακαι [ ] προcπλακέν̣τ̣α̣[

ε̣ἰ δ̣εῖ or ο̣ὐ̣ δ̣εῖ Λ̣ακαίν̣[η̣] προcπλακέν̣τ̣α̣ [μαινάδι] e.g. Austin ("if one must" or "one must not" ... "someone embroiled with the mad Laconian woman")

At the beginning of line 23 and of the text written above it the writer left a blank space (*vac.*) because of a hole in the papyrus.

προcπλέκω is late and usually found in prose (LSJ s.v.; TLG VI col. 1987). Προcπλακέν̣τ̣α̣ could also be understood as a neuter plural, in which case Λακαίν̣[η̣] could be a complement of agent ("the confusion wrought by the mad Laconian woman"). The supralineate addition cannot be read.

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[26] On prologues of tragedy and New Comedy, see Bain, *Actors and Audience*, 104 n. 2; Groton, *Aspis*, 7-8; R.L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge U.K. 1985), 24-33. On the prologue of *I. A.* and the question of its authenticity, see H. Erbse, *Studien zum Prolog der euripideischen Tragödie* (Berlin-New York 1984), 269-280.

α τὴν[

24 .. [ ] δι' ἣν [ ]ατα

διηνλακ[West : δι' ἣν γυν[αῖκα] e.g. Austin : διπλην[Parca At the end of the line, e.g. πήμ]ατα Austin : πράγμ]ατα or κλαύμ]ατα Parca

The suprascript (δι)ὰ τὴν[corrects or explains δι' ἣν[, unless one reads ἄτην (West).

25-26 [ ] ἔσχατον [ ] φιλονείκοις πάλιν
[ ]αδος α[ ]ιπον ἤλυθεν τέλος

[ἐπ'], [εἰς], or [τὸ δ'] [τὸ δ'] ἔσχατον [κακῶν] ἃ φιλονείκοις πάλιν | [Ἰλι]άδος ἀ[κταῖς ἔλ]ιπον· e.g. Parca ("The last of the evils which, again because of rivalry, they left on the Trojan shores. The end has come." Cf. Eur., *Teleph.* F 149.2 Austin Τ]ρωιάδας ἀκτάς; *Electra* 440-441) : [ἐπ'] ἔσχατον [διῆκ]ε[ν] φιλονείκοις πάλιν | [Ἰλι]άδος ἄ[νθος λο]ιπόν· e.g. Austin ("Because of the rivalry the rest of Troy's youth was again streched to the limit. The end has come." Cf. Eur., *Tro.* 809 Ἑλλάδος ἄγαγε πρῶτον ἄνθος). Also, φιλονείκοις could perhaps be construed with [Ἰλι]άδος ἀ[κταῖς (Kannicht), or λο]ιπόν with ἤλυθεν τέλος ("The end has come at last").

τέλος refers to the last stage of the doom of Troy (LSJ 1.4), and conceivably to the fulfilment of the ultimate condition for the fall of the city, the theft of the Palladium. The aorist ἤλυθον is used by Euripides (*Electra* 168; *Androm.* 301).

27] [ ] εὐγενὴς Τρώων πόλις

At the beginning of the line, [ἄρδην ὄλωλεν] e.g. Austin ("the noble city of the Trojans is utterly destroyed")

The adjective εὐγενής generally qualifies people; see, however, Eur., *Ion* 1540-1541: Λοξίας ἐς εὐγενῆ | δόμον καθίζει. The favorable connotations tied up to this word suggest that it is spoken by a Trojan or a pro-Trojan (cf. line 39).

Τρώων πόλις is Homeric (e.g., *Il.* 14. 88, 16. 69; *Od.* 3. 85, 4. 249); in tragic poetry Troy is called Τρωϊκὸν | πόλισμα (Soph., *Phil.* 1423-1424), Τρωϊάδα πόλιν (Eur., *I.T.* 442), Ἰλιάδα πόλιν (Eur., *Androm.* 796), or Φρυγῶν πόλιν (*ibid.* 363).

28]δεγ.....ο....αςιον

]δεγ.., traces of the following five letters suit τουτο but could also be read ρωντο, or ρουτο, or ρουςα

If lines 27 and 29 allude to the destruction of Troy, perhaps line 28 contained an allusion to the reason for its doom. However, the damaged surface of the papyrus and the particular difficulty of the handwriting preclude certain decipherment.

λαικωνί

29 [...]υειν εχ[..]ν εἵνεκεν τῆς γυμνάδος

ἐχ[θρὸ]ν Merkelbach : κοιο]ῦσιν ἐχ[θρὸ]ν West : ἔχο]υσιν ἐχ[θρὸ]ν Haslam : διάλ]υσιν ἐχ[θρά]ν Austin ("a hateful ending") At the end, γυμνάδος Haslam

There is no violation of Porson's Law at the end of the line since the group article-noun forms a "Wortbild".

From Homer onwards, Helen is blamed for having caused the Trojan War: e.g., *Il.* 2.161-162; *Od.* 17. 118-119; Alcaeus F 283 L.-P.; Aesch., *Ag.* 800; Soph., *Ai.* 1111-1112; Eur., *Androm.* 105; TrGF 2, Ad. F 684, fr. 3; also Verg., *Aen.* 2.601-603. Cf. R. Kannicht, *Euripides Helena* I (Heidelberg 1969), 22-23.

Helen yielded to love without regard for the foreseeable ensuing war. While in *Od.* 4. 261-262, she ascribes her past blindness to Aphrodite (ἄτην ... μετέστενον, ἣν 'Αφροδίτη | δῶκε'), Helen is usually held responsible for her actions. Her madness is one of love and destruction: Aesch., *Ag.* 1455-1457: ἰὼ ἰὼ παράνυμε 'Ελένα | μία τὰς πολλάς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς | ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ. The dual implications of love and war in Helen's passion for Paris form the core of Sappho 16 L.-P.: L. Rissman, *Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 157, Königstein 1983), 30-65.

On λακωνίς, here synonymous with λάκαινα (cf. line 19 and, possibly, 23), see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. The phrase εἵνεκεν Λακωνί(δος) recalls in form and position the Hesiodic formula εἵνεκα κούρης in *Catalogue* F 196.4, 198.4, 204.76 M.-W. (*Helenae Procri*).

If the reading γυμνάδος, "[on account of] the athlete" is correct (cf. TGL II s.v. γυμνάς, 1), the expression anticipates and sheds light on the meaning of the suprascript above line 35 (see below pp. 69-71). The later occurrence of the

word explains why ■ ■ deleted in line 29. Helen's athletic training immediately evokes her Spartan origins, hence the alternative Λακωνί(δος).

Γυμνάς can also convey the less literal sense of schooled in all aspects of life: Helen is the experienced female par excellence, the woman of many lovers (E. Bethe, 'Helene', *RE* 14 [1912], 2828-2830; M. Becker, *Helena* [Strasbourg 1939], 47, 117-118; ■. Brunnhofer, *Helena* [Zurich 1941], esp. 63-64). Lucian (*Dearum Iudicium* 13-14) may lend support ■ this possible *double entendre*. As she tries to win Paris' vote, Aphrodite tempts him by describing the type of girl he should marry: someone like Helen, young, beautiful and "above all susceptible to love" (Λάκαιναν οἵαπερ ἡ Ἑλένη ἐστίν, νέα τε καὶ καλὴ καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλάττων ἐμοῦ, καὶ τὸ δὴ μέγιστον, ἐρωτική, 13). Since the country bumpkin has never heard of Helen, Aphrodite provides him with more details: the girl is fair (λευκή), delicate (ἁπαλή), "much given to exercise and athletics", and so eagerly sought after by men that a war broke out when Theseus abducted her (γυμνάς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παλαιστική, καὶ οὕτω δή τι περιεπούσδαστος ὥστε καὶ πόλεμον ἀμφ' αὐτῇ γενέσθαι, τοῦ Θησέως ἄωρον ἔτι ἁρπάσαντος, 14). Now why would Aphrodite mention Helen's athletic expertise in a context where emphasis on conventional enticing female qualities ■ expected? Only if γυμνάς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παλαιστική is glossing ἐρωτική does the reference to athletics become fully relevant, and pointed. The use of words which are *voce propria* technical terms concerning the palaestra ■ suggest or describe love and lovemaking is frequent in ancient authors; see M. Poliakoff's commentary on Ps. Lucian, *Asinus* 8-11, in which the match between Lucius and Palaestra ■ described through the *doubles entendres* of lovemaking and the combat sports (*Studies in the Terminology of Greek Combat Sports* [Frankfurt 1986, 2nd ed.], 101-125).

30 [...] δος γὰρ εἰς παρ[ ]ι θέλει ...τοσφα[

Τεν]ε̣δος ? Haslam : ἐφ]ε̣δ(ρ)ος γὰρ εἷς Πάρι(ς) θέλει τ' ταὐτοσφα[γεῖν e.g. Austin ("a misspelling of ἀνδροσφαγεῖν, formed like ἀνθρωποσφαγεῖν [Eur., *Hec.* 260]?" "Paris is the one champion ■ reserve and ■ wants to kill his man")

This line remains a *locus desperatus* and, *iuxta lacunam*, Austin's supplement has little attraction (lex Youtie). Since the following line refers to the death of Paris — without giving his name — the hero's name must have been told before, probably in line 30. The mention of Helen's marriage to Deiphobus in lines 33-36 ascertains that Paris' death was narrated prior to line 33.

31 [....] ε τόξοις τοῖς Φ(ι)λοκτήτο[υ] τότε.

At the beginning of the line, [ἀλλ' ἔπε]ε, or sim. Parca : e.g. [πέπτω]κε, or [τέθνη]κε Austin

The return of Philoctetes from Lemnos and his fighting on the Greek side with the bow and arrows of Heracles fulfilled one of the conditions for the fall of Troy: Proclus, *Chrest.* 211-214 Severyns [*Little Iliad*]: μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὺς λοχήσας Ἕλενον λαμβάνει, καὶ χρήσαντος περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τούτου Διομήδης ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλοκτήτην ἀνάγει. ἰαθεὶς δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ Μαχάονος καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτείνει ("After this Odysseus captures Helenus in an ambush, and once that one has foretold about the taking [of Troy] Diomedes brings Philoctetes back from Lemnos. Philoctetes is healed by Machaon and kills Alexander in a single combat.") Cf. Soph., *Phil.* 604-613; TrGF 2, Ad. F 654.14-17; *Schol. Pind., Pyth.* 1.100. These events are related somewhat differently in Apollod., *Epit.* 5.8: Ἤδη δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου δεκαετοῦς ἀθυμοῦσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι Κάλχας θεσπίζει, οὐκ ἄλλως ἁλῶναι δύνασθαι Τροίαν, ἂν μὴ τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔχωσι τόξα συμμαχοῦντα. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ Διομήδους εἰς Λῆμνον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Φιλοκτήτην, καὶ δόλῳ ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν τόξων πείθει πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν. ὁ [redacted] παραγενόμενος καὶ θεραπευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ποδαλειρίου Ἀλέξανδρον τοξεύει ("When the war had already lasted ten years, and the Greeks were despondent, Calchas prophesied to them that Troy could not be taken unless they had the bow and arrows of Hercules fighting on their side. On hearing that, Ulysses went with Diomedes to Philoctetes in Lemnos, and having by craft got possession of the bow and arrows he persuaded him to sail to Troy. So he went, and after being cured by Podalirius, he shot Alexander.") The account of Quint. Smyrn. 9.325-479 agrees with that of Apollodorus. Likewise, in the new text Helenus cannot have prophesied the need for Philoctetes' return, since his desertion to the Greeks takes place after the death of Paris and Deiphobus' marriage to Helen. Cf. Robert, *Heldensage*, 1207-1218; Severyns, *Cycle*, 332-334; and Bethe, *Epenkreis*, 102-104.

Philoctetes killed Paris in single combat (Proclus), striking him with arrows (Apollod.; Soph., *Phil.* 1426-1427; Dictys 4.19; cf. *Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 911). Menelaus mutilated the corpse before the Trojans recovered it: καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ Μενελάου κατακικθέντα ἀνελόμενοι θάπτουσιν οἱ Τρῶ-

εc (Proclus, *Chrest.* 214-215 Severyns). Cf. Türk, 'Paris', *Roscher* III 1 (1897-1902), 1603.

32 [... ...]ε δε[ι]νὴ γυμνάσῃ Φρύγ[ας] Τύχη

["Ινα δ' ὧδ]ε ("In order that dreadful Fate so harass the Phrygians") e.g. Pares : ['Ως μὴ δ]ὲ or ["Ινα μὴ δ]ὲ e.g. Austin ("And to prevent a dreadful fate from vexing the Trojans")

The implications of the subjunctive γυμνάσῃ for the dramatic action and the identity of the speaker vary depending on whether the verb occurs in a positive or in a negative subordinate clause of purpose. To assert that behind Helenus' and Deiphobus' competition for Helen lay the deliberate decision ■ imperil the Trojan cause must either be the point of view of an outside observer — possibly Athena — or the incriminating (and ironical?) pronouncement of a critical insider such as Antenor. If, on the other hand, the beginning of line 32 contained a negative purpose (Austin), the passage would signify that winning Helen's hand amounted to succeeding to Paris and providing Troy with a leader able to confront the Greeks. The sentence, highly ironical in light of the disastrous effect of the brothers' rivalry, would fit either Athena or Antenor.

γυμνάζω ■ first attested in tragic poetry. ■ Aesch., *Ag.* 540, e.g., it depicts the homesickness of the Greeks away at Troy for ten years: ἔρως πατρῴας τῆςδε γῆς ς' ἐγύμνασεν. It is associated with fate / fortune in Men., *Achaioi* (CGFP 113 Austin) 1-2: ἀλλ' ἐγύμνας' ἡ τύχη τοῦτον πένητα καὶ ταπεινόν. For the use of Φρύγες as a synonym for Τρῶες in post-Homeric poetry, see note to line 19.

By the end of the fourth century B.C. the tendency to reject the traditional pantheon and seek an explanation for events ■ the actions of a new type of deity, personified τύχη, was growing. On Τύχη and her cult, see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1955, 2nd ed.), 298-305; Nilsson, *Religion* 2, 200-210; Z. Stewart, 'L'ascesa delle religioni soteriologiche', *La società ellenistica: economia, diritto, religione* (Storia e Civiltà dei Greci 8, Milan 1977), 558 with n. 75.

In lyric poetry and Aeschylus, τύχη seems to act in close association with the will of the gods (cf. H. Strohm, *Tyche* [Stuttgart 1944], 83-95), whereas in Sophocles she often functions independently and arbitrarily (e.g., Soph., *Eri-*

phyle, TrGF 4, F 201f Radt). In Euripides, where τύχη often is an active agent, the true "movers" are ultimately the gods (cf. T.V. Buttrey, review of A. Spira, *Untersuchungen zum Deus ex machina bei Sophokles und Euripides* [Kallmunz 1960], *AJP* [redacted] [1962], 323). She is an active and powerful agent [redacted] Menander's comedies (cf. the prologue of the *Aspis*, with Groton, *Aspis*, 9), and also seems to have figured prominently in Hellenistic tragedy (e.g., TrGF 2, Ad. F 506, 665.11 and 717; Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies*, 132-135). Demetrius of Phaleron dedicated a whole treatise to defining her nature and workings; fragments of his περὶ Τύχης are preserved [redacted] Polybius 29.21 (= FGrHist 228 F 39).

33-36 [̣ ̣ ̣ Ἕλ]ε̣νο̣ς̣ α̣ὐ̣τὴν ἠθέλησε πρὸς γάμους
ἡ δὲ προ ας στρατο[
[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] καὶ Δηίφοβος. ἡ δὲ βάρβαρος
[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] ἤρκασε γυμνάδος ποσιν
[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] ν ̣ ̣ ̣ ἠθέλησε(ν) [ἔνγαμον λαβεῖν]
[τά]ν̣δ̣ρ̣ὸς̣ πατ̣ὴ̣ρ̣ τότ̣ε̣ τοῦτον ἤνεσεν γάμ̣ον.

33 [τότ' Ἕλ]ε̣νος̣ Parca

34 [ἄγειν τε] Austin, Lloyd-Jones : [λαβεῖν τε] Parca : [ἔπειτα] καὶ West Suprascript, πρό̣τ̣λ̣ας̣ στρατο̣[ῦ Parca ("the champion of the army") : πρό̣π̣ας̣ στρατ̣ὸ̣[ς Haslam, West ("the whole army") For line 35 see below p. 69

> "Helenus wanted [redacted] marry her, and so too did Deiphobus.
> But when the barbarian woman wished [redacted] get married [redacted] the
> latter, the man's father then consented to this marriage."

The narrow spaces between lines 34, 35 and 37 suggest later interlinear additions, including all of line 36. The damaged beginning of the line written above the deleted ἔνγαμον λαβεῖν does not allow speculation about the extent of the interlinear writing, but the deletion proves that at least the final part of the interlinear addition was meant as an alternative.

The plural γάμοι used of a single wedding [redacted] common: e.g., Aesch., *Ag.* 1156; Soph., *O.C.* 978; Men., *Samia* 681. For the idiom πρὸς γάμους, see P. Oxy. XLVII 3319 (3rd century A.D.; Sesonchosis Romance) col. 2, lines 5-6, in which the speaker tells his interlocutor that he had left for war after securing a promise of marriage from his girl (πιστευσάμενος δὲ αὐ | τὴν πρὸς γάμους).

The restoration πρότλας at the end of the interlinear addition above line 34 is not otherwise attested, but the phrase πρότλας στρατο[ῦ] could be created by analogy with προστάς, as in Aeschines, *De falsa legatione* 161 where the defendant depicts himself as the "champion of peace" as opposed ■ Demosthenes' pro-war party (ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντες τὴν πόλιν, τιμωρήσονται τὸν προστάντα τῆς εἰρήνης).

βάρβαρος is said of a woman ■ Men., *Misum.* 311. The term may imply that Helen is brutal or cruel (cf. Eur., *Hel.* 501; A.P. 5.2.5-6). But the adjective may signify "barbarian" or "foreign" as well. If so, Greek values and prejudices are ironically inverted, so that Helen, from the Trojan point of view, is characterized as a despised and foreign "non-Trojan". In the present context the word would be well suited ■ Antenor, but a different kind of irony would befit Athena (see below p. 87). In Eur., *Tro.* 764, Andromache similarly refers to the Greeks' crimes ■ βάρβαρα κακά. Cf. Bacon, *Barbarians*, 9-14 [esp. 12]; K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality ■ the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Berkeley 1974), 85; Kiso, *Lost Sophocles*, 51-57.

Helen was won by Deiphobus' prowess in combat: *Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 168: μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀχθῆναι Φιλοκτήτην ἀπὸ Λήμνου καὶ τοξευθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Δηίφοβος τὴν Ἑλένην ἔγημεν ἢ καὶ τοῦ Πριάμου αὐτὴν θεμένου ἔπαθλον τῷ ἀριστεύσαντι κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ λαβὼν ταύτην αὐτὸς ὡς ἀριστεύσας, καθάπερ ἄλλοι φασίν, ἢ μόνος αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐν Τρῳάσιν φησίν (= *Tro.* 959-960). ("For after Philoctetes was brought back from Lemnos and Alexander had been shot by him and buried, Deiphobus married Helen; according to some, it is because Priam had offered her as a reward ■ the one who would excel in war that Deiphobus got her, for ■ was the best, or, as Euripides says in the *Trojan Women*, simply because he carried her off.") Tzetzes also mentions Deiphobus' forcible seizure of Helen in his *Posthomerica* (ἣ ῥ' ἀέκουσαν ἑλὼν εἵτε Πριάμοιο φράδμοιεν, 601) though there, too, it is presented as the alternative ■ her being allotted by Priam as a reward for military excellence.[27]

[27] In Dictys 4.22 Deiphobus abducts Helen when he hears of the Trojan plan to return her to Menelaus (*quod postquam Deiphobus cognouit, traductam ad se Helenam matrimonio sibi adiungit*).

The rivalry between Helenus and Deiphobus over Helen broke out after Paris' death: Apollod., *Epit.* 5.9: τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος εἰς ἔριν ἔρχονται Ἕλενος καὶ Δηίφοβος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλένης γάμων ("after the death of Alexander, Helenus and Deiphobus quarelled as to which of them should marry Helen"), and Conon, FGrHist 26 F 1 [34]: ὡς μετὰ τελευτὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πάριδος οἱ Πριάμου παῖδες Ἕλενος καὶ Δηίφοβος ἤριζον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλένης γάμων, καὶ κρατεῖ βίᾳ καὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν δυνατῶν Δηίφοβος, νεώτερος ὢν Ἑλένου ("how after the death of Paris Alexander, Priam's sons Helenus and Deiphobus quarelled over which of them should marry Helen; Deiphobus prevailed through force and with a retinue of able-bodied men, since he was younger than Helenus"). Helen's relation to Deiphobus is known [illegible] Homer; Menelaus himself alludes [illegible] it in *Od.* 4.276: καί τοι Δηίφοβος θεοείκελος ἕσπετ' ἰούσῃ,[28] and the *scholia* comment on it in connection with the killing of Deiphobus which Demodocus recalls in *Od.* 8.517-520. But in neither passage is Helen's relationship to the Trojan prince one of marriage.[29] In Proclus' synopsis of the *Little Iliad*, this episode also follows immediately after the death of Paris: μετὰ [illegible] ταῦτα Δηίφοβος Ἑλένην γαμεῖ (*Chrest.* 216 Severyns). Lycophron, *Alex.* 168-171 and *scholia* give more details on the matter; see also Holzinger, *ad loc.* A tragic adespotum on papyrus dated to ca. 200 B.C. (TrGF 2, Ad. F 636 a) preserves yet another treatment of the episode (see below p. 98); there, Helen apparently declares that she was "given" to Deiphobus (]·εδόθην, line 8). On the subject, see Severyns, *Cycle*, 334-337; and Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène*, 34.

ὁ δὲ προ ας στρατο]
34-35 [ ] καὶ Δηίφοβος. ἡ δὲ βάρβαρος
]ι[ ] ἤρεσε γυμνάδος ποσιν
[ ] ν ἠθέλησε(ν) [ἔνγαμον λαβεῖν]
[τὰ]νδρὸς πατὴρ τότε τοῦτον ᾔνεσεν γάμον.

[illegible] Line athetized before Aristarchus (*Schol. HQ ad loc.*), but *Schol. EQ* to *Od.* 4.276 reads: Δηίφοβος· Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός, ὃς εἶχε τὴν Ἑλένην. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Δηϊφόβῳ ἐγαμήθη ἡ Ἑλένη.

[29] This was, according to *Schol. EPQV* to *Od.* 8.517, an invention of the later cyclic poets, καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ Δηϊφόβῳ γήμασθαι λέγουσι, to which *Schol. P* adds that Deiphobus followed Helen not as her husband but as a general guarding her, thus clarifying Menelaus' statement in 4.276.

35 e.g. [τοῦ]τόν γ' ὅ[τ'] Parca Suprascript, ἥρπασε Koenen (hence, e.g., [ταύτ]ην ⟨γ'⟩ ὅτ' ἥρπασε(ν --))

ἔγγαμος, 'married' is rare and late: e.g., Cyrill. Hier., *Catech.* 17.7 (cf. Lampe s.v.). The synonym ἐγγάμιος is attested in PSI III 220.17, a private letter from Oxyrhynchus dated to the third century A.D.

If Helen is the subject of ἠθέλησεν (cf. line 34), the sentence may mean that she chose between the brothers and decided to marry Deiphobus. This would be an unattested variant of the tradition in which Priam gave Helen to Deiphobus as a reward for military prowess.

The text written above line 35 is difficult if the three supralinear words are considered together. Since ἁρπάζω generally governs the accusative — although it sometimes admits a genitive (LSJ s.v. 2) — the grammatical function and literal meaning of γυμνάδος ποσιν remain unclear. Does the phrase refer to Helen's training as a runner (ποσίν) or to the husband (πόσιν) of a woman practiced in athletics? As the beginning of the line is damaged, neither interpretation is certain. If we accentuate γυμνάδος πόσιν, Deiphobus (ὁ δὲ) cannot be the subject of the transitive verb governing πόσιν nor can the verb be ἁρπάζω. Consequently, the text above does not complete that above the end of 34 and ὁ δὲ προ[ ]ας στρατο[, hardly an alternative for or an explanation of ἡ δὲ βάρβαρος, is left dangling.

On the other hand, if γυμνάδος ποσίν restores the original text, the phrase could imply that Helen is an accomplished runner (LSJ s.v. πούς, 2; TGL II col. 807 s.v. γυμνάς, 1).[30] Foot racing was part of women's athletic training in Sparta: τὰ μέν γε σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνησεν, Plut., *Lycurg.* 14 (cf. Gow on Theocr., *Epithal.* 22; also Paus. 5.16.3 and BMC Bronzes 208, pl. III).[31] And the passage of Theocritus' *Epithalamios* in which Helen's companions praise the superior beauty of the bride (lines 22-32) opens with a reference to the sports they used to practice together: αἷς δρόμος αὐτός (22).[32] Commenting

[30] Given Deiphobus' superiority as a warrior, he could be described as an accomplished racer too, but ὁ γυμνάς is apparently attested only in the sense of ὁ παλαιστής (TGL II s.v. γυμνάς, 2).

[31] I owe the reference to Prof. D. Sansone.

[32] *Schol. Mad loc.* remarks ὅτι δὲ ἔθος εἶχον αἱ Λάκαιναι καὶ αἱ Σπαρτιάτιδες κόραι ἀνδρείοις γυμνασίοις καὶ δρόμοις γυμνάζεσθαι, δῆλον.

upon the echo of Theocritus 18.22-32 in Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas* 23-28, Bulloch concludes that Athena "is identified with the pure and exquisite kind of beauty represented by Helen, who combined feminity with very masculine Spartan athletics" (*Fifth Hymn*, 132). Very seldom, however, is Helen's physical strength and endurance emphasized. Perhaps her nationality alone implies fine athletic abilities. Indeed, the supralinear addition λακωνί(δος) above γυμνάδος in line 29 suggests an intrinsic link between competitive training and Spartan origins. On the likely double-entendre of eroticism and athletics, see above p. 63.

However, the blank space before the supralinear γυμνάδος suggests a different interpretation, because the gap may indicate that γυμνάδος ποσιν is a correction independent from ἥρπασε. The subject of the verb is provided by ὁ δὲ πρότλας στρατο[ῦ, i.e. ὁ δὲ πρότλας στρατο[ῦ | [ταύτ]ην [γ'] ὅτ' ἥρπασεν ↔ | [τἀ]νδρὸς etc. The implications of this reconstruction are twofold. First, the tradition of the abduction of Helen by Deiphobus (Eur., *Tro.* 959-960; Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 601) and that of Priam's assent to the marriage (*Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 168; Eust. 348.24-27 [*in Il.* 24.251]; Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 601) are combined. Second, the correction was left incomplete (as in line 5). In this scenario, γυμνάδος πόσιν is best taken as an independent, earlier correction, aimed at avoiding a repetition of what is said in lines 33-34; this is so especially if the lacuna opening line 34 originally accommodated the supplement [λαβεῖν τε]. The correction (γυμνάδος πόσιν) is based on the original text prior to the insertion of the supralinear expression ὁ δὲ – – – ἥρπασε; then, the text of lines 34-35 perhaps read ἡ δὲ βάρβαρος | [τοῦτ]ον ὅτ' ἠθέλησε(ν) γυμνάδος πόσιν ("When the barbarian woman wanted him ■ be the husband of the athletic woman"). The phrase contains a redundancy since the barbarian and the athlete are the same woman. Whether this ambiguity reveals a lack of poetic skill and an imperfect mastery of language, or rather the influence of riddles similar to those common in technopaignia, remains uncertain.

36 [τἀ]νδρὸς πατὴρ τότε τοῦτον ἤνεσεν γάμον

[τἀ]νδρὸς Haslam ([ἀ]νδρὸς Parca)

"the man's father then consented to this marriage"

[ἀ]νδρὸς πατήρ, i.e., Deiphobus' father (to complicate matters further, Priam was also father of Helenus). If the reading πατὴρ is correct, line 36 con-

tains an allusion to Priam's rôle in the incident. So Eust. 348.24-27 (*in Il.* 24.251): φασὶ καὶ ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρου πεσόντος Πρίαμος τὸν Ἑλένης γάμον ἔπαθλον ἔθετο τῶι τὴν μάχην ἀρίστῳ. Δηίφοβος οὖν, γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος, ἔσχεν αὐτὴν ἀριστεῖον μάχης ("they also say that after the death of Alexander, Priam offered Helen's hand as a prize for the best combatant. Thus Deiphobus, who excelled in the fray, received her as reward for his noble performance in battle"); *Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 168-171 (see above p. 67); and Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 600-601 where Deiphobus is said to have obtained Helen either through forceful abduction or through Priam's counsel (Δηίφοβος δ' Ἑλένης πόσις ἔπλετο Τυνδαρεώνης· | ἢ ῥ' ἀέκουσαν ἑλὼν εἴτε Πριάμοιο φράδεσσιν). Cf. R. Wagner, 'Deiphobos', *RE* 4 (1884), 2405; L. Kahil, 'Deiphobos', *LIMC* III (1986), 362-367. In this papyrus, however, Priam's sole rôle lies in his sanction of the choice made by the parties directly concerned. For αἰνέω, 'to acquiesce in', see e.g., Pind., *Pyth.* 3.13 (Coronis spurns Apollo's love and takes another lover): ἄλλον αἴνησεν γάμον κρύβδαν πατρός; and Eur., *Med.* 1157 (spurned by the sight of Medea's present, Jason's young wife agrees to see her rival's children): ᾔνεσ' ἀνδρὶ πάντα.

Line 36 displays a striking example of alliteration in *tau*: παῖδ' τότε τοῦτον (cf. also 31:] ε τόξοις τοῖς Φ(ι)λοκτήτο[υ] τότε). For examples of repeated τ sounds in Greek literature, see O.J. Todd, 'Sense and Sound in Classical Poetry', *CQ* 36 (1942), 32-33; R.D. Dawe, *Sophocles. Oedipus Rex* (Cambridge U.K. 1982), on line 371; and C. Riedel, *Alliteration bei den drei grossen griechischen Tragikern* (Erlangen 1900), 61-62 [on *O.T.* 371]. The generally poor diction in the exposé at lines 30-39 betrays the limited inspiration and skill of a poetaster; note, in particular, the jarring repetitions: θέλει (30), ἠθέλησε (33), and ἠθέλησε(ν) (35); τότε (31, 36), [τότ'] (33), and <τότ'> (39); πρὸς γάμους (33), ἔνγαμον (35), and γάμον (36); τοῦτον (35, 36).

37-39 [ἀρ]γῇ δὲ λημφθεὶς Ἕλενος ὡς ὑβριεμένος
[αὐ]τόμολος εἰ[ς] Ἕλληνας ἐκπορεύεται
[σύ]μμαχος ἐπ[ελθ]ὼν· τίς Φρυγῶν ἐλπὶς _ [ ]

38 εκπορευετε Π

39 πάρ[α West : παρ[ῆν; Austin : γὰρ [ἦν]; Parca

> "Seized by anger, Helenus, at this insult, left and deserted to the Greeks and went to them as an ally. What hope was left to the Trojans?"

λαμβάνω is often used to express the seizing power of passions and feelings: e.g., Hom., *Il.* 1.387: Ἀτρείωνα δ' ἔπειτα χόλος λάβεν; Arist., *Lys.* 1110: τῇ σῇ ληφθέντες ὀργῇ. With ὀργή, see e.g., Eur., *Suppl.* 1050 (ὀργὴν λάβοις ἄν); Men., *Samia* 499 (ἐχρῆν ὀργὴν λαβεῖν σε). Also, Hdt. 1.141.4: ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. The insertion of the nasal μ in the future and derivatives of λαμβάνω (i.e. λήμψομαι, ἐλήμφθην) on the analogy of the present stem is documented in papyri from the Ptolemaic period on (Mayser I² 1, 166-167; Gignac I, 188 n. 1, and II, 269).

The adjective αὐτόμολος is unattested in extant Greek literature before Herodotus and Thucydides; Sophocles used the adverb in his lost *Phaedra*: Hesych. α 8445 Latte: αὐτομόλως· προδοτικῶς. Σοφοκλῆς Φαίδρᾳ (= TrGF 4 F 691 Radt).

ἐκπορεύομαι, which occurs mainly in prose (e.g., Xen., *An.* 5.1.8), is also attested in poetry: ἐκπορεύεται can be read in line 36 of a fragment of Critias' satyr-play *Sisyphos* (VS B 25), and at line 13 of the 'Cλουρος' papyrus (ed. pr. by W.H. Willis, forthcoming in *GRBS* [I owe the reference to Dr. C. Austin]). For the spelling εκπορευετε Π, see Mayser I² 1, 85-86 and Gignac I, 191-193.

For the idea of common hope and safety resting with an individual, see Aesch., *Cho.* 776: Ὀρέστης ἐλπὶς οἴχεται δόμων, and Soph., *Eurvp.*, TrGF 4 F 210. 76-77 Radt: οἴμοι, τέκνον, πρ[ο]ύδωκά σ' ἐσχάτη[ν ἔ]χων | Φρυξὶν μεγίστην (τ') ἐλπίδων σωτη[ρία]ν.

There were two traditions concerning the wrath of Helenus following Priam's decision to marry Helen to Deiphobus after Paris had died. In the one he willfully betrayed the Trojans, while in the other he was captured by the enemy: *Schol. Eur., Hec.* 87: ὡς μέν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ηὐτομόλησεν, ὡς δέ τινες, ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἑλήφθη; Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 572-573: ἢ ῥ' Ὀδυσῆος ἔρμασιν Ἀργείοισιν ἐπελθὼν | ἢ μόνος αὐτομόλησιν ἐπηλυσίῃσι βαδίσσας; and *Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 911.

In most accounts, the Trojan seer did not walk deliberately to the Greek camp, but, angered, retired to Mount Ida where he was taken prisoner by Odys-

seus: Apollod., *Epit.* 5.9; Conon, FGrHist 26 F 1 (34); Quint. Smyrn. 10. 346-349. However, in the *Little Iliad* (Procl., *Chrest.* 211-212 Severyns), Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (604-616), Euripides' play by the same name (F 28 Austin), and Servius, *in Aen.* 2.166, the ambush theme is treated independently from that of frustration and seclusion. On Helenus, see W. Otto, *RE* 14 (1912), 2844-2847; R. Engelmann, *Roscher* I 2, 1979-1981; *LIMC* Suppl. [forthcoming]. For Helenus' rôle and character in the *Iliad*, see Kullmann, *Quellen*, 246; Vermeule, *Götterkult*, 115.

We know from Tzetzes' *Chiliades* (6.511-513) that Euripides, in an unknown play, treated Helenus' desertion as being motivated by anger at his father's decision: Ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης λέγει, | ἀνθ' οὗπερ ὁ Δηίφοβος ἔλαβε τὴν Ἑλένην, | ὁ τούτου σύναιμος, φθονῶν, τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπῆλθε.[33] In Triphiodorus, too, it is jealousy (βαρυζήλοιο Ἑλένοιο, 49) which prompts Helenus to join the Danaan cause: εἰ μὴ Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν ἐάσας | Ἰλιόθεν Δαναοῖσιν ἐπὶ ξένος ἦλυθε μάντις (45-46). The account of the desertion in the *scholia* to Eur., *Androm.* 1245 makes no allusion to the wrath motif nor to its instrumental rôle in the fall of Troy (ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ γὰρ αὐτομολήσας Ἕλενος πρὸς τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον συναπῆλθεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα).[34]

The willful betrayal narrated in lines 37-39 of the papyrus thus follows the lesser known of two traditions, and can now be added to the only two other mentions of this version. The traitor divulges the oracles about the fate of Troy, and by so doing dooms the city: the hopelessness of the situation — stressed by the rhetorical question in line 39 — recalls the imminence of the venture into Troy (lines 19-22). The circle is closed, and this implicitly suggests that this exposition must not have been much longer than that preserved in the papyrus.

40-41 [ ]ειθε μήτε[ ] εὐγενοῦ[ς τ]αύτης παρ[
[ ]μ α [ ] μήτε [ ] εν Ἑλλάδ[ο]ς

40 ἔκ]ειθε Austin: ὡς] εἶθε West μητέ[ρος] Austin : ἄν]ευ γένους[? Haslam : μήτε [πρὸς] Parca παρ[ὰ or πάρ[ος Austin : πάρ[α Haslam

41 ὡς] μὴ or τὸ] μὴ e.g. Austin

[33] The motif occurs perhaps as early as the *Aithiopis*: Robert, *Heldensage*, 1217.

[34] Christodorus (A.P. 2.155-156) mentions the anger and betrayal, but does not refer to actual physical surrender.

The occurrence in line 40 of the adjective εὐγενής, the qualificative of Troy in line 27, suggests that Troy could again be alluded to here (cf. Eur., *Tro.* 386-387). This hypothesis is strengthened by the mention of Greece in line 41, which could be intended to contrast with and parallel the preceding expression. If μητέ[ρος] is to be read, however, the adjective εὐγενής could describe Hecuba.

Ἑλλάς designating the whole Greek continent (e.g., Hes., *Op.* 653; Aesch., *Pers.* 50) is denounced by Aristarchus as a lexical intrusion of the *neoteroi* in Homeric criticism (Severyns, *Cycle*, 116; Vian, *Posthomerica*, 91-94).

Chapter III

Mythological and Literary Background

The enduring appeal of the Trojan War in the literary life of Roman Egypt is documented by the Cologne fragment. In choosing this highly revered poetic theme, the author affirmed the tradition's relevance to his Graeco-Egyptian cultural and intellectual heritage. The subject of the text — which I would ascribe to dramatic poetry — is Odysseus' *ptocheia* in Troy, but the details of the plot, the range of characters and the exact setting remain speculative.[1]

Plot

Paragraphi divide the fragment into five sections: lines 1-3, 4-5, 6-19, 20-22, and 23-42.[2] Owing to material corruption lines 1-2 are unintelligible, but in line 3 someone speaks of future escape. In the short delivery of lines 4-5, the (same?) speaker notices a divine smell and a friendly voice. In the lengthy invocation to Pallas Athena in lines 6-19, the goddess is described as both the traditional martial deity and the later syncretistic figure of the cosmocrator. She is invoked as protector in the deed at hand, which involves the delivery of letters to Helen in Troy. In lines 20-22, the speaker announces that he will disguise himself, and leaves the stage, again invoking Athena's protection. The monologue following in lines 23-42, a prologue-like expository passage, recounts, in chronological sequence, the death of Paris (30-31), the rivalry between Helenus and Deiphobus over Helen, her marriage to the latter (33-36),

[1] The literary genre to which the papyrus text belongs is uncertain. The attribution to tragedy is most likely; other identifications are mentioned below (p. 95).

[2] Because the left margin is so damaged from line 23 on, it is impossible to establish changes of speaker after line 23. However, the content of lines 23-42 is consistent with the delivery of a single character. The extant paragraphi are discussed above (p. 2 with n. 5).

and Helenus' anger and desertion to the Greeks, which left the Trojans in despair (37-39).

Lines 23-42 clearly refer to events occurring after the return of Philoctetes from Lemnos, which probably took place prior ■ the actions described in the new text. From Helenus the Greeks learned the oracles concerning the fate of Troy and the crucial prophecy whereby the city's destruction would be secured through the removal of Athena's sacred idol from her temple in Troy. Hence, the hero's contemplated action, ■ which Athena is to shield him from divine punishment, may ■ linked not only to the spying mission in Troy, but also to the theft of the Palladium.

Characters

1. Lines 20-22

Lines 20-22 leave no doubt that the contemplated action is Odysseus' spying mission to Troy during the final days of the war:

> δυνάμει ■ τ[ῇ] σῇ καὶ τὸ νῦν θαρρ{ε}ῶν περῶ
> _γραφὰς κομίζ[ω]ν πρὸς Λάκαιναν εἰς Φρύγας.
> ἅπαντα δράς[ω]· καθ' ὁδὸν ἀλλάξω τύπους,
> κρύψω πέπλ[ο]υς δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺ̀ς' θάμνῳ τινί.
> _θαρρῶν ἅπε[ιμ]ι· σὺ δὲ θεὰ παρίσταso. (18-20)
>
> "And by aid of your power I also go through today's trial with confidence as I bring letters to the Laconian woman in Troy. I shall do everything: on my way I shall alter my features and hide my clothes under a bush. I leave with confidence and you, goddess, be at my side."

The speaker is Odysseus. His spying expedition is described to Telemachus by Helen ■ *Odyssey* 4.244-251:

> αὐτόν μιν πλῆξῆσιν ἀεικελίῃσι δαμάσσας
> σπεῖρα κάκ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι βαλών, οἰκῆι ἐοικώς,
> ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν·
> ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἤισκε,
> δέκτῃ, ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.
> τῷ ἴκελος κατέδυ Τρώων πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἀβάκησαν

πάντες· ἐγὼ δέ μιν οἴη ἀνέγνων τοῖον ἐόντα,
καί μιν ἀνηρώτων· ὁ δὲ κερδοσύνῃ ἀλέεινεν.

"When he had submitted himself to disfiguring blows, he threw a poor covering over his shoulders, and in the likeness of a servant he entered the enemy's broad-streeted city. He likened himself in his concealment to another mortal, to a beggar, he who by the Achaeans' ships was nothing like that. In that guise he entered the city of the Trojans. They all overlooked him. I alone recognized him as he was. And I questioned him. He eluded me cunningly."

According to Proclus, the author of the *Little Iliad* treated the reconnaissance episode in the following manner:

'Οδυσσεὺς τε αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται καὶ ἀναγνωρισθεὶς ὑφ' Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς πόλεως συντίθεται, κτείνας δέ τινας τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται.

(Procl., *Chrest.* 224-227 Severyns)

"After disfiguring himself Odysseus goes to Ilion as a spy and, recognized by Helen, together with her plans the taking of the city; and he returns to the ships after killing some Trojans."

In Euripides' *Hecuba*, the Trojan queen briefly alludes to this event (lines 239-241):

οἶσθ' ἡνίκ' ἦλθες Ἰλίου κατάσκοπος
δυσχλαινίᾳ τ' ἄμορφος, ὀμμάτων τ' ἄπο
φόνου σταλαγμοὶ σὴν κατέσταζον γένυν;

"Do you remember once how you came to Troy, a spy, in beggar's disguise, smeared with filth, in rags, and tears of blood were streaming down your beard?"

and in Apollodorus' *Epitome* (5.13) the adventure reads as follows:

Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μετὰ Διομήδους παραγενόμενος νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν Διομήδην μὲν αὐτοῦ μένειν εἴα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν αἰκισάμενος καὶ πενιχρὰν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἀγνώστως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται ὡς ἐπαίτης. γνωρισθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλένης δι' ἐκείνης τὸ παλλάδιον ἔκλε-

> ψε καὶ πολλοὺς κτείνας τῶν φυλαςςόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς μετὰ Διομήδους κομίζει.
>
> "And Ulysses went with Diomedes by night to the city, and there he let Diomedes wait, and after disfiguring himself and putting on mean attire he entered unknown into the city as a beggar. And being recognized by Helen, he with her help stole away the Palladium, and after killing many of the guards, brought it to the ships with the aid of Diomedes."

The theme of self-disfigurement is central to each account, despite the fact that in the original version of the cyclic poem[3] Odysseus submits himself to a beating by Thoas.[4] Also common to most sources is the beggar disguise,[5] except for Proclus' synopsis which omits all mention of a masquerade. In all *testimonia* Helen's recognition of Odysseus seems haphazard,[6] and her collaboration is implicitly motivated by her longing for Greece after the death of Paris (cf. *Od.* 4.260-261; Dictys 5.4). Yet in the new text Odysseus' mission is combined with the delivery of letters to her in Troy. The motif itself is not new — Euripidean heroes often resort to written messages, Phaedra's incriminating tablets in the *Hippolytus* being perhaps the most pernicious of all — but its presence in the spying mission episode is striking. Odysseus' delivery of letters to Helen, whether this author's invention or not, introduces a radical novelty in the traditional version of the *ptocheia*, and one can speculate that it

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[3] For the *Little Iliad*, see: Robert, *Heldensage*, 1207-1242; Severyns, *Cycle*, 328-356; Bethe, *Epenkreis*, 23-30, 104-108; and Severyns, *Chrestomathie*, 89-90 (text). For the iconographic treatment of scenes drawn from the *Little Iliad*, see: K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1978), 250-254.

[4] Lycophron, *Alex.* 779-785 and *Schol. Alex.* 780: ὃ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα γράψας φησὶ τρωθῆναι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὑπὸ Θόαντος, ὅτε εἰς Τροίαν ἀνήρχοντο (= Testimonium VIII Allen).

[5] Also in [Eur.], *Rhes.* 503-504: ἤδη δ' ἀγύρτης πτωχικὴν ἔχων στολὴν | ἐςῆλθε πύργους; Arist., *Wasps* 351: εἶτ' ἐκδῦναι ῥάκτειν κρυφθεὶς ὥςπερ πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς; and *Schol. M Eur., Hec.* 240: ἦλθε γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰς τὴν Τροίαν εἰς ἐπαίτην μετασχηματίσας ἑαυτὸν (διὰ τὸ παλλάδιον) (διὰ τὸ καλλάδιον only in V). Cf. Brommer, *Odysseus*, 34-35; Murnaghan, *Disguise*.

[6] The statement in *Schol. T Od.* 8.517 that "Odysseus knew Deiphobus' house when he came in as a deserter (or, 'as a spy'?)" (ᾔδει δὲ τὴν Δηϊφόβου οἰκίαν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὅτε αὐτομολῶν εἰςῆλθε), could lend support to the suggestion that, at least in some versions of the fall of Troy, the *ptocheia* involved making contact with Helen.

led to a recognition scene between Odysseus and Helen. The origin and nature of the letters remain speculative — perhaps they contain a communication from Menelaus, giving her assurances for the future in exchange for collaboration with Odysseus. Or, perhaps, they reveal the identity of the letter carrier, or yet another message.[7]

2. Lines 1-22: The Opening Scene

Internal evidence suggests that the text of lines 1-22 be divided between two, or possibly three characters, one of whom is Odysseus. We shall thus consider both possibilities, examining the dramatic implications and discussing the logical difficulties inherent in the involvement of two or three characters.

TWO CHARACTERS: ATHENA AND ODYSSEUS

The physical damage in lines 1-3 hinders the certain identification of the speakers. One of them could be Athena, the deity to whom the prayer of lines 6-19 is directed,[8] for on the basis of a very attractive reading, πάντα δ[ι]α-πειρῶ μένει ("Do attempt everything through your strength"), C. Austin proposes that the line is spoken by Athena to her favorite hero. Since, however, the opening verb of line 3 (ἐκφεύξομαι) cannot be spoken by the goddess and both it and the preceding lines rather betray human considerations, the only words attributable to the goddess are those concluding line 3.[9] Hence, at least

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[7] A. Dyck suggests the following scenario: "There are several different versions of the death of Deiphobus. According to Virgil (*Aen.* 6.523ff.), the night of Troy's fall, Helen removed all arms from the house and called in Menelaus (accompanied by Odysseus) to slay the hapless Deiphobus. Quintus of Smyrna has her merely flee to the palace, so that Menelaus kills Deiphobus in her absence and discovers her later (13.355-57, 385ff.). In either case she was evidently forewarned by the Greek side. I take it that this is the message in question" (*per litteras*, 5.2. 1987).

[8] "1-3 Rede der Athene? 4-22 Rede des Odysseus? Situation ähnlich wie Anfang des 'Aias'?", Gronewald *per litteras*. But ἐκφεύξομαι can hardly be the goddess' word. For Athena as speaker and the similarity with the beginning of *Ajax* see above, pp. 21-24 on line 3.

[9] For the lack of dicolon to indicate a change of speaker within line 3 see p. 22). The scribe may not have used dicola. If so, his system of using paragraphi — paragraphi without dicola marking the precise position of the change of speaker

two characters are involved in the scene. The other speaker could be Odysseus, whom Athena interrupts and encourages (see above pp. 21-22). The paragraphus under line 3 marks a change of speaker, as we should expect.[10]

The identification of the speaker in lines 4-5 and 6-19 hinges upon the contents of lines 20-22, which are uttered by Odysseus (as has just been discussed). In 22 the hero exits (ἄπε̣[ιμ]ι), and the change of speaker is again indicated by a traditional paragraphus. Similarly, the dash below line 19, at first view, could mark the end of the speech beginning at line 6 and presumably indicate an alternation in the dialogue. The intention of making contact with Helen expressed in line 19, however, suggests that this, too, is Odysseus speaking. Athena's encouraging words at the end of line 3 and her δ̣[ι]ο̣πετρῶ could be taken up by Odysseus' rhyming πετρῶ in line 18.

Because of literary precedents, lines 4-5 should probably be assigned to Odysseus as well (Soph., *Ajax* 14; [Eur.], *Rhesus* 608). Hence the paragraphi below 5 and 19 may not indicate a change of speaker but merely mark the different sections in a speech by one and the same character (Odysseus).[11] We can be more precise. The paragraphus below line 18 indicates the end of the prayer proper. In the following lines 20-22a (θαρρῶν ἄπε̣[ιμ]ι) Odysseus reflects aloud upon, and steels himself for, the action at hand. He will make himself unrecognizable and hide his compromising garment behind a bush. Once he is

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within the line — is not capable of indicating double changes of speakers in a line.

[10] For the meaning of paragraphi see p. 2 with note 5. Wahl, *Sprecherbezeichnungen* (above p. 2 n. 5), 136-146, discusses the scant evidence for a system in which (a) paragraphi indicate a change of speaker in the middle of the preceding line, while (b) the numbers 1-4 (in the usual way expressed through the letters A, B, Γ, and Δ and indicating actors) appear in the left margin when the change of speaker occurs at the beginning of the line. This system is obviously of no help for the interpretation of the paragraphi in the present papyrus.

[11] For an example — very much earlier — of a single dramatic speech divided by paragraphi, see the Papyrus Didot (A. Körte, *Menander* 1 [Leipzig[3] 1938, ed. stereotypa correctior by A. Thierfelder 1957], 143). G. Giangrande, 'Preliminary Notes on the Use of Paragraphos in Greek Papyri', *Mus. Phil. Lond.* 3 (1978), 147-151 argues that in addition to indicating a change of speaker or addressee, the paragraphus sometimes marks a change of tone, and in this light he interprets the paragraphi below lines 18, 19 and 24 of P. Oxy. IX 1174, col. iv (= Soph., *Ichneutai*, TrGF 4 F 314, lines 104, 105 and 109 Radt), which are commonly understood as indicating changes of speakers or group of speakers belonging to the chorus.

resolved to act, he turns back to the goddess with a short prayer for assistance (εὐ δὲ θεὰ παρίσταco, line 22b). Insofar ■ lines 20-22a constitute an aside, the use of the paragraphus is explainable.[12]

If lines 4-5 and 6-22 are spoken by the same speaker (Odysseus) as we presently hypothesize, the paragraphus under line 5 similarly marks a kind of aside. In lines 4-5 the hero would express his surprise at hearing the goddess' voice and at sensing her presence, and in line 6 he would begin his prayer to Athena.

To summarize this interpretation, at the beginning of the column Odysseus is talking to himself and, in the middle of line 3, ■ interrupted by Athena. He soliloquizes again in lines 4 and 5, then addresses a prayer to the goddess (6-19), recalls the actions he ■ about to engage in (20-22a), and exits with a final short prayer to Athena (22b). There is, however, a serious objection to this scenario. Odysseus' realization that the goddess ■ near (lines 4-5) suggests that he ■ sensing her presence for the first time. Hence Athena's epiphany is not announced by the traditional deity's apostrophe of the hero by name but is reduced to a pragmatic admonition *in medias res* ("Take your chances"). Moreover, Athena's part would be exceedingly short. Even if she should speak the following prologue (23-42), her involvement ■ the present scene would be dramatically unmotivated. Therefore a different scenario should now be considered.

THREE CHARACTERS: ATHENA, ODYSSEUS, AND ANTENOR

A second interpretation would be to divide lines 1-22 between three characters — Odysseus, Athena, and the Trojan Antenor (see below pp. 83-86). Lines 1-3 could belong to a dialogue between Odysseus and Athena whose manifestation to, and recognition by, Odysseus would have taken place before the papyrus begins. Enters Antenor in line 4. He does not see Odysseus, or is not seen by the Greek, but he, too, senses the divine presence (lines 4-5; his reference to the goddess' voice may imply that he eavesdropped the preceding dialogue). He proceeds with his prayer while Odysseus remains silent. The invo-

[12] For example, in ■ Köln V 203 A 4 (3rd cent. B.C.) ὑπαδολέσχης ἐστί, probably an aside, ■ marked by a paragraphus (thus E. Koenen). In the passage discussed above, the end of the aside could not be signalled since a paragraphus below line 22 already indicates the end of Odysseus' entire speech.

cation of lines 6-18 implies that Antenor has resolved to help steal the Palladium and is aware of the danger inherent in the enterprise. He knows that he will have to leave Troy or whatever will be left of her.[13] In line 19 Odysseus resumes the speech interrupted in line 3 (19-22). Antenor may leave the scene shortly thereafter or remain on stage — invisible ■ Odysseus — in order ■ speak the following prologue (lines 23-42, discussed below). In this reconstruction two parallel scenes would be taking place on stage: Odysseus' and Antenor's actions, although ultimately aimed at the same goal, would be presented as simultaneous but independent pursuits. Both heroes would express the same kind of determination and confidence in Athena's assistance, and Antenor's words in 16-18 parallel Odysseus' remarks in 20-22.

In this interpretation, the paragraphi below lines 3 and 22 indicate changes of speakers while the one below 5 marks a change of addressee. Problematic ■ the paragraphus below line 19 since it should occur beneath line 18. The need to posit an erroneous paragraphus weakens this interpretation, for although paragraphi are frequently misplaced or omitted ■ papyri, the assumption of such a scribal error in a fragmentary text seems injudicious.[14]

There is yet another way of apportioning lines 1-22 to the three characters. In a third interpretation, lines 1-3 could belong ■ ■ dialogue between Antenor and Athena. The goddess would dismiss Antenor with encouraging words at the end of line 3, and the Trojan elder would leave the stage at that point. Odysseus enters the scene (and Troy) as the goddess utters her exhortation and, hiding from Antenor, he notices Athena's smell and his ally's voice — unless ■ is hers — (lines 4-5, spoken as an aside). After Antenor's departure, Odysseus feels free to pray ■ Athena (lines 16-22). The rest would unfold along the

[13] See the reference ■ the future wanderings of the supplicant in the suprascript correction of line 17 (pp. 53-54 and 84 n. 18).

[14] To assume that this particular poeticaster simply followed his own rules in the use of paragraphi is hardly a defensible position. The study of the use of paragraphi in papyri is hampered by the fact that, given the apparent lack of dramatic autographs, no conclusions can be drawn concerning their lectional conventions, or lack thereof. P. Tebt. III 693 = CGFP 292 Austin (later 3rd century B.C.), apparently an extract from the concluding scene of a comedy, is written ■ a cursive hand which suggests that it was a private copy (or an autograph?). The dash over the beginning of the last line of text prompts Andrieu's remark that "il est intéressant de voir que le particulier adopte dans son usage la paragraphos pour distinguer les répliques" (*Dialogue*, 266 n. 4).

line discussed in the first interpretation (above pp. 80-81). Although the reference ■ the supplicant's future wanderings and his salvation from the sea (line 17 with the poet's correction πλάνοc) could refer to Antenor (see above, p. 82 and ■. 13), the audience would much more readily recognize Odysseus (see p. 54f. and n. 24). Antenor may later return to speak the prologue (lines 23-42), unless ■ is spoken by the divinity. In this interpretation all paragraphi (beneath 3, 5, and 22) would indicate changes of speakers, except the dash below 19, which would still mark the end of Odysseus' prayer and the beginning of his short self-address.[15]

■ the extant lines, Athena's rôle remains brief; but contrary to the first scenario, the second and third interpretations allow for the possibility that her dialogue with Odysseus or Antenor has started in a previous column, now lost. Once the two other characters have left the stage, she could speak her prologue. If so, Athena may very well have had a larger part in the beginning of the play than ■ evidenced by the passage preserved by the papyrus.

3. Lines 23-42: The Prologue

The prologue-like exposé following line ■ contains an important clue to the identity of the speaker. The detailed recollection of recent events at Troy, and the use of expressions sympathetic ■ Ilion (cf. lines 27 and 34) suggest that, if the character is not Athena, he may well be a Trojan. The only Trojan who entertains a special relationship with Odysseus and Athena, and who ■ embroiled in the events leading to the destruction of Ilion is Antenor.[16]

When, before the outbreak of the war, Odysseus and Menelaus travelled to Troy to request the return of Helen and the stolen possessions,[17] Antenor welcomed them in his home (*Il.* 3.205-208). Moreover the rescue of Helicaon,

[15] Other combinations of these interpretations remain possible. 1-3 dialogue between Antenor and Athena, followed ■ 4-5 by Odysseus' arrival on stage. The Greek hero could attentively listen to Antenor's prayer (6-18), break his silence only to inform the audience of his immediate plans and exit. This suggestion adds little to what is discussed above and is theatrically less convincing.

[16] For a bibliographical survey, see Davies, *LIMC* 1981, 812. Add: Espermann, *Antenor*; Braccesi, *Leggenda*.

[17] The timing of the embassy is not clear: it ■ uncertain whether it was sent prior ■ or after any fighting. Cf. Robert, *Heldensage*, 1006; Séchan, *Etudes*, 181-184; Davies, *AK* 1977, 73-75, esp. n. 4; Brommer, *Odysseus*, 24.

son of Antenor, by Odysseus in a later poem of the cyclic-epic tradition points ■ ties of earlier hospitality (Paus. 10.26.7-8). Elsewhere, Antenor not only hosted the members of the Greek embassy, but also saved them from an assassination plot (*Il.* 11.123-125 and 138-142; Serv., ■ *Aen.* 1.242). In return for this hospitality and service, the Greeks spared his house and family when Troy was finally sacked (Strab. 13.1.53; Paus. 10.27.3-4; *Schol. Pind., Pyth.* 5.110).[18] Antenor's bonds with Athena, on the other hand, were not personal but stemmed from the status of his wife in the goddess' cult at Troy; as priestess of Athena (*Il.* 6.300), she was the keeper of the keys of her temple on the acropolis (*Il.* 6.298).[19] When the embassy ■ Troy requested the return of Helen, Theano, treating the Greeks as suppliants, provided them with due protection in the goddess' temple (Bacch., *Dithyr.* 15.1-7 Maehler).

In later literature, Antenor's conciliatory attitude towards the Greeks gave rise to a version of the myth in which he betrayed Troy:

> ὅταν χέλυδρος πυρσὸν ὠμόθριξ βαρὺν
> ἀκεμπολητὴς τῆς φυταλμίας χθονὸς
> φλέξας τὸν ὠδίνοντα μορμυτὸν λόχον
> ἀναψαλάξῃ γαστρὸς ἑλκύσας ζυγά,
>
> "at what time the fierce-crested serpent, seller of the land that bred him, kindles the grievous torch and draws the belly-bands and lets slip the travailing terrible ambush."
>
> (*Alexandra* 340-343)

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[18] Cf. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* I (Cambridge U.K. 1975), 250; R.B. Kebric, *The Paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi and their Historical Context* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 80, Leiden 1983), 17; and M.W. Haslam on P. Oxy. XLIV 3151 (a probable fragment of Sophocles' Αἴας Λοκρός [TrGF 4 F 10d]), pp. 10-11. According to Pind., *Pyth.* 5.81-94, the Antenoridai emigrated to Cyrene (Braccesi, *Leggenda*, 69-78); in another tradition Antenor and his sons founded Patavium in the Po Valley (e.g., Strabo 12.3.8). Cf. Wagner, *RE* 2, 2352-2353; Oertel, *Roscher* I 1, 366-367; Scuderi, *CISA* 1976, 38-49; Braccesi, *Leggenda*, 13-32 and 115-122.

[19] Cf. K. von Fritz, 'Theano', *RE* 5 A II 2. Reihe, X. Halbband (1934), 1377-1379; Burkert, *Religion*, 96-97; Espermann, *Antenor*, 35-49; Vermeule, *Götterkult*, 113. On a late fourth century B.C. red-figure Paestan amphora (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, F 3025; see Motel, *Iliouspersis*, 8 [nr. 93] and pl. 40/1-2), Theano ■ depicted with the keys of the temple ■ hand (Chavannes, *De raptu*, 8-9). For the priestess Theano as an exemplary female model, see ■. Nagy, 'The Naming of Athenian Girls. A Case in Point', *CJ* 74 (1979), 360-364.

This tradition is first found in Lycophron,[20] who is likely to have borrowed the story from an earlier source.[21] In the *Alexandra*, however, the betrayal is specifically tied to the episode of the wooden horse, while in other sources it is linked to the theft of the Palladium. In these, the sacred image is handed over to the Greeks either by Theano,[22] or by Antenor alone or with his wife's aid.[23] When Helen approaches Antenor in Dictys 5.4 her action is prompted by worries about her own safety[24] and seemingly independent from the gift of the

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[20] Scuderi, *CISA* 1976, 28-49; Braccesi, *Leggenda*, 123-146 (with bibliography). Antenor's unsuccessful efforts to achieve reconciliation with the Greeks were the origin of his disagreement with Priam. In some sources, Antenor allegedly intends to overthrow the king and rule in his stead: *Schol. Lyc., Alex.* 340: φασὶ τὸν Ἀντήνορα προδοῦναι τὴν Τροίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλείας (Holzinger, *Alexandra*, on 340 glosses ὠμόθριξ ["fierce-crested"] with ἀνταγωνιστὴς ὢν τῷ Πριάμῳ), and Dictys 4.22 (one condition of the treaty between the Trojan pro-peace party and the Greeks at the end of the war): *ipsi autem Antenori dimidium bonorum Priami regnumque uni filiorum eius, quem elegisset, concederetur* ("as for Antenor, half of Priam's wealth should be given to him; and one of his sons, whomever he chose, should rule over Troy").

[21] Holzinger, *Alexandra*, on 340.

[22] *Schol. B Il.* 6.311: τοῦτο (= τὸ παλλάδιον) Διομήδης καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅτε τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Πρίαμον, ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκύλισαν, προδεδωκυίας αὐτὸ Θεανοῦς τῆς τοῦ Ἀντήνορος γυναικός, ἱερείας τυγχανούσης καὶ φυλαττούσης αὐτό, and Suidas, s.v. Παλλάδιον. In his reconstruction of the plot of Sophocles' *Lacaenae* Chavannes gives Theano the traitor's rôle (52-53), and he adds: "libenter credam jam in parva Iliade Theano aliquas in Palladio rapiendo partes suscepisse" (54).

[23] *Schol. Lycophr.* 658: κλῶπα τὸν Ὀδυσσέα φησίν, ὅτι τὸ παλλάδιον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰσελθὼν μετὰ Διομήδους ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ ἔκλεψε δόντος αὐτοῖς αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀντήνορος· Θεανὼ γὰρ ἡ Ἀντήνορος γυνὴ τῆς ἐκτίσε Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπῆρχεν ἱέρεια; Dictys 5.5-8, esp. 8: *atque eadem nocte Antenor clam in templum Minervae venit, ibi multis precibus et mixtis Theano, quae ei templo sacerdos erat, persuasit, ut Palladium sibi traderet, habituram namque magno eius rei praemia* ("During that night Antenor secretly went to the temple of Minerva and, threatening the priestess Theano with force and promising that she should be richly rewarded, begged her to give the Palladium to him"); Tzetz., *Posthom.* 514-516: καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσεὺς νύκτωρ ἠδὲ παῖς Τυδῆος | αὐτονυχὶ κόμισαν Ἀντήνορος ἄκα λαβόντες· | τοῖς γὰρ ἔην φίλος, ἠδὲ δάμαρ, ἱέρεια θεοῖο. On the association between Antenor and Theano in the betrayal, see: Oertel, *Roscher* I 1, 366; Wagner, *RE* 2, 2352; Robert, *Heldensage*, 1006-1007; Espermann, *Antenor*, 37 and n. 9. In Dictys' account Antenor and Theano are not husband and wife.

[24] *Sed media ferme nocte Helena clam ad Antenorem venit suspicans tradi se Menelao et ob iram derelictae domus metuens, itaque eum orat, uti inter celera sui*

wooden horse mentioned at the end of 4.22[25] or the theft of the Palladium recounted in 5.8.

Vase paintings of Helen's involvement in post-robbery scenes with Diomedes and Odysseus document a tradition involving her in the planning of the robbery. A late fifth century B.C. red-figure panathenaic amphora and a red-figure Apulian pelike dated to 370-360 B.C., both ■ Naples, preserve two such illustrations.[26] The appearance of Theano on one such vase reveals her complicity with Helen.[27]

Servius' mention of the reconnaissance episode captures the moment dramatized in the new papyrus when ■ says of Antenor: *Ob hoc autem creditur Graecis Antenor patriam prodidisse, quia, sicut superius dictum est, et auctor reddendae Helenae fuit* ■ *legatos ob hoc uenientes susceperat hospitio, et Ulixen in mendici habitu agnitum non prodidit* (*in Aen.* 1.242). If the speaker of lines 23-42 is Trojan, this quotation confirms Antenor's collaboration as early ■ Odysseus' patrol, establishes Antenor as a plausible candidate, and suggests a possible literary source for the incident.

Renowned for his wisdom and eloquence and considered the Trojan counterpart of the Greek Nestor,[28] Antenor was a popular figure suited for the delivery

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quoque apud Graecos commemorationem faceret ac pro se deprecaretur ("About midnight, Helen came to Antenor secretly. She suspected that they were about to return her to Menelaus and feared that she would ■ punished for having abandoned her home. Accordingly, she begged him to mention her, when he spoke among the Greeks, and plead in her behalf.")

[25] Cp. Lycophr., *Alex.* 340-343 with *scholia*. In Hom., *Od.* 4.271-289 Helen also approaches the wooden horse.

[26] Respectively: Naples, Museo Nazionale, ■ 3235 = ARV^2, 1316.1 (Moret, *Iliupersis*, pls. 32-33; Kahil, *LIMC* IV 1, nr. 201); Naples, Museo Nazionale, H 3231 [inv. 81392] = RVAp, 15/29 (Moret, *Iliupersis*, pls. 34-35; Kahil, *LIMC* IV 1, nr. 202). See Chavannes, *De raptu*, 5-7; Wörner, *Roscher* III 1, 1305-1306; Robert, *Heldensage*, 1233 and n. 2; Séchan, *Etudes*, 156-159; Moret, *Iliupersis*, 73, 75.

[27] On the Naples pelike 3231 (RVAp 15/29), and, perhaps, on an Apulian oenochoe dated to c. 360 B.C. (Paris, Musée du Louvre, ■ 36 [N 3136] = RVAp 18/120; Moret, *Iliupersis*, 79-80, pls. 38-39; Kahil, *LIMC* IV 1, nr. 203).

[28] Antenor is one of the leading Trojans gathered with Priam in the τειχοσκοπία (*Iliad* 3.146-160), and he accompanies the king when the oaths are sworn before the duel between Paris and Menelaus (*Iliad* 3.261-262 and 312-313). His elo-

of a prologue-like disclosure. A possible alternative would be the intervention of Athena herself (see above pp. 81 and 83), whose divine omniscience and ambivalent relationship with Troy would befit the delivery of a delayed prologue in which the Trojan cause is recalled in sympathetic terms (cf. the discussion of the final clause in line 32).[29] The physical participation of divine prologists in the action seen on stage is normally limited to a monologue (as in *Hippolytus* and *Trojan Women*), but in Euripides' *Alcestis* the prologue spoken by Apollo is followed by his dialogue with Thanatos.[30] If Athena spoke the prologue much tragic irony would be attached to her sympathetic description of Troy's domestic woes, following her open encouragement and implicit support of Odysseus' plan.

Mythological Tradition

The theft of the Palladium was inspired by the oracles concerning the fate of Troy which the Greeks learned from Helenus. The Trojan seer's willful desertion to the Greeks in lines 37-39 follows the lesser known of two traditions concerning Helenus' wrath when, following Paris' death, Priam married Helen to Deiphobus (see above p. 73-74). In most accounts, the Trojan seer does not deliberately enter the Greek camp, but, angered, retires to Mount Ida where he is captured by the enemy.[31] However, we know from Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 6.510-513) that Euripides, in an unknown play, treated Helenus' defection as one of anger at his father's action (see above, p. 73). Hence, the new text can now be added to the other two mentions of this version. The first account is

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quence is likened to Nestor's and praised in Eur., F 899 N^2 1-2: τὸ Νεστόρειον εὔγλωσσον μέλος Ἀντήνορος.

[29] This suggestion was offered by E.W. Handley in a seminar at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in the spring of 1986, and is supported by M.W. Haslam.

[30] The human speakers of prologues always participate in the action. It is unlikely that Athena's is the leading part of this play as is the case in the *Bacchai* where the god, in different dresses, speaks the prologue as well as takes part in the action of the tragedy.

[31] Cf. Apollod., *Epit.* 5.9; Conon, FGrHist 26 F 1 (34); Serv., *in Aen.* 2. 166; Quint. Smyrn. 10.345-349; Tzetz., *Posthom.* 572-573; *Schol. Lycophr., Alex.* 911.

given by the fourth century A.D. poet Triphiodorus in his epic on the taking of Troy:[32]

> καί νύ κεν ὐκτατίοισιν ἐποκνήσασα πόνοισιν
> ἀκάματός περ ἐοῦσα μάτην ἴδρωσεν Ἀθήνη,
> εἰ μὴ Δηιφόβοιο γαμοκλόπον ὕβριν ἐάσας
> Ἰλιόθεν Δαναοῖσιν ἐπὶ ξένος ἦλυθε μάντις,
> οἷα δέ που μογέοντι χαριζόμενος Μενελάῳ
> ὀψιτέλεστον ὄλεθρον ἑῇ μαντεύσατο πάτρῃ. (43-48)
>
> "And now Athena, unwearying though she be, would have shrunk from her latest labor and all her sweat had been in vain, had not the seer turned from the bride-stealing lust of Deiphobus and come from Ilios as guest of the Danaeans, and, as doing a favor to Menelaus in his travail, prophesied the late-fulfilled ruin of his own fatherland."

The second allusion is preserved in a scholiast's note to Euripides' *Andromache* 1245:

> Ἑλένῳ συναλλαχθεῖσαν: ἀντὶ τοῦ· πρὸς γάμον συναφθεῖσαν. ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ γὰρ αὐτομολήσας Ἕλενος πρὸς Νεοπτόλεμον συναπῆλθεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
>
> (*Schol. MNOA*)
>
> "For since he had deserted to Neoptolemus in Troy, Helenus left with him for Greece."

Although the order and content of Helenus' prophecies differ from one author to another, the theft of the idol is always presented as the last and decisive condition for the fall of Ilion.[33] Here, lines 17-19, which introduce Odysseus' mission to Troy, may imply his intention to steal the Palladium, while lines 20-21 describe his anticipated disguise. The two episodes are generally treated

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[32] In Christodorus, *A.P.* 2.155-156, the consequences of Helenus' anger are not explicitly mentioned.

[33] Soph., *Philoct.* 604-613; Conon, FGrHist 26 F 1 (34); Apollod., *Epitome* 5.10; Serv., *in Aen.* 2.166; Quint. Smyrn. 10.353-354. On the discrepancies between these texts, see Severyns, *Serta* 1930, 306-312. Robert, *Heldensage*, 1217 n. 8 lists the sources which do not mention the theft of the Palladium among Helenus' prophecies. On the Palladium, see: Wörner, *Roscher* III 1, 1301-1324; Ziehen, *RE* 36.2, 171-189; Chavannes, *De raptu*.

as separate events. In Proclus' summary of the *Little Iliad* the theft of the Palladium transpires after the spying expedition:

> καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (the spying mission, cf. pp. 76-77) σὺν Διομήδει τὸ παλλάδιον ἐκκομίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου.
>
> (*Chrest.*, 228-229 Severyns)
>
> "And after this, accompanied by Diomedes, Odysseus steals the Palladium out of Ilion."

Thus, in the *Little Iliad* the beggar episode and the theft of the sacred image are distinct but complementary actions. Odysseus goes to Troy alone, and with Helen's complicity, acquires the necessary knowledge to commit the robbery.[34] He later returns to Troy accompanied by Diomedes.[35] In Apollodorus, however, the two expeditions are fused into one. The account of *Epitome* 5.13 (see above page 80) blends the nocturnal Palladium episode of the *Iliou Persis* and the beggar passage of *Odyssey* 4, despite the inappropriateness of the disguise for the night prowl.[36]

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[34] *Schol. M Eur., Hec.* 241: ἀπίθανον τὸ πλάσμα καὶ οὐχ Ὁμηρικόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐσίγησεν Ἑκάβη πολέμιον θεασαμένη κατατρύοντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Τρῶας πράγματα. ἡ [redacted] Ἑλένη εἰκότως. For a reconstruction of the sequence of actions in Lesches' poem, see Chevannes, *De raptu*, 48.

[35] Diomedes, Odysseus' traditional comrade in the nocturnal raids against Troy and other ventures common in epic and tragedy (cf. Kullmann, *Quellen*, 86; Fenik, *Iliad X*, 12-13), usually accompanies Odysseus in the theft of the Palladium: e.g., Procl., *Chrest.* 228-229 Severyns; Soph., *Lacaenae* F 367 Radt; [Eur.], *Rhes.*, passim; Dion. Hal. 1.69; Conon, *FGrHist* 26 F 1 (34); Apollod., *Epit.* 5.13; Verg., *Aen.* 2.162-194; Ovid, *Met.* 13.1-381; Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 509-517. For a survey of the accounts, in literature and art, of the theft of the idol, see Brommer, *Odysseus*, 40-48.

[36] Severyns, *Cycle*, 349-352 and *Serta* 1930, 318-319; Vian, *Posthomerica*, 46-47. Severyns, *Cycle*, *loc. cit.* has also suggested that Lesches, writing after both Homer and Arctinus, shunned the amalgam and distinguished between the two actions. In lines 501-505 of the *Rhesus*, too, the author seems to recall the two moments, and ἤδη (503) possibly distinguishes between Odysseus' past beggar mission (503-505, aor. ἐσῆλθε) and his more recent expedition during which he stole the Palladium (501-502, pres. φέρει). Hector's mention of the theft, however, is a blatant anachronism: κλέψας ἄγαλμα: παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους· ὕστερον γὰρ τούτων τὸ Παλλάδιον ἔκλεψε. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ Ὅμηρος [Z 92] (*Schol. Rhes.* 502). Also, in this passage both adventures are ascribed to Odysseus alone, though Diomedes is clearly involved in the action of the play (567ff.) and had played the leading rôle in the *Doloneia* of *Iliad* 10. For the motivation behind this shift of importance, see Fenik, *Iliad X*, 21.

light of these literary traditions[37] the internal evidence of the papyrus fragment suggests that the play which it belonged dealt with either the πτωχεία or, like Apollodorus' account, the combined πτωχεία with the theft of the Palladium. The concluding phrases of the hymn Athena (lines 17-18) imply that the goddess actively involved in (see p. 54), and possibly the instigator of, the coming action — and thereby indicate that Odysseus' mission in lines 19-22 is perhaps not a mere preliminary scouting of the Trojan acropolis (with the additional purpose of warning Helen or winning her collaboration), but the first phase of the robbery itself. Given the theatrical convention according to which the dramatic action must be completed between sunrise and sunset, it is likely that the new play started in the morning with the disguise episode and ended at night with the theft of the Palladium.

Setting

Given his close ties to Athena and the perilous nature of his venture, Odysseus invokes the goddess before setting out; so does he also at the outset of the Homeric *Doloneia* (*Iliad* 10, 277-282). Although the solemn utterance of the prayer to Athena in lines 6-19 could suit the sanctity of a temple or altar,[38] the contents of lines 20-22 make it impossible for Odysseus' address to

[37] For this same combination in dramatic poetry, see below pp. 92-93.

[38] In Bacchylides' *Reclamation of Helen*, set before the Trojan War, Theano meets Odysseus and Menelaus at the start of their mission (*Dithyr.* 15.1-7 Maehler). Perhaps, as has been conjectured, she opened for them the golden doors of the temple (lines 2-3) to ensure their safety until their meeting with the Trojan assembly. A Late Corinthian column krater, the "Astarita" krater, dated to c. 560 B.C. now in the Vatican, preserves the scene at the temple of Athena. The three Greek envoys, Menelaus, Odysseus and Talthybius, sit on a flight of three stairs leading to the altar proper; they are confronted by a group of four women, Theano followed by two maids and her old nanny, themselves preceding a 'cavalcade' of some fifteen horsemen. The seven main figures are identified by a name, but most mounted guards are nameless. Cf. J.D. Beazley, "ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ", *Proc. Brit. Ac.* 43 (1957) 233-244, pls. 11-16; and Davies, *AK* 1977, 73-85, pl. 17.1-2. Davies correctly identifies the structure on which the three men sit as the steps leading to the altar (79), contrary to Beazley's suggestion that they are "the steps inside the wall of Troy" (235).

The Homeric poems contain scant information about the cult places of the major gods involved in the action. Although Athena has a free-standing temple on the Trojan acropolis (*Il.* 6.297ff.), there is no mention of a *temenos* or an *alsos* of the

be delivered in the temenos of Athena's temple on the Trojan acropolis; because Odysseus describes his disguise as a future action, he cannot have reached Troy yet. Consequently, the setting could either be the Greek camp or the plain between the two armies,[39] the latter location being perhaps more likely if lines 23-42 are delivered by a Trojan character.

The divine odor and friendly voice mentioned in lines 4-5 most probably allude to the presence of the goddess. Her exact position remains uncertain; she may be standing at Odysseus' side or simply be in the background, in any case visible to the audience but not to Odysseus. In lines 8-10, Athena is said to be standing and attired in martial gear, an image suited to the Palladium. The hymn of lines 6-19, and especially lines 6-10, may therefore be, at least in part, an ecphrasis describing Athena's cult statue in Troy (see below, pp. 113-115). Might this be an anticipatory depiction of the idol which will be brought onto the stage[40] after it is stolen from the temple?[41] Some of the traits of Athena, however, are difficult to ascribe to a statue alone, particularly those in lines 13-15 which do not pertain to the traditional artistic or literary iconography of the Palladium or of the goddess, but rather concern an Athena cosmocrator. The invocation in lines 8-16 thus develops from the concrete to the abstract, beginning with the literal description of the goddess' actual costume and culminating in the exaltation of her metaphorical religious aspects. The mental progression is logical: after reflecting upon the tangible

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goddess anywhere in the *Iliad*. Only in the *Odyssey* is there a passing description of her ἄλσος on Scheria (6.291-293), at the edge of Alcinoos' garden (Vermeule, *Götterkult*, 106-110).

[39] Homeric altars are often erected in the open, and the Greek camp before Troy counts several of them: Vermeule, *Götterkult*, 105, 108.

[40] Statues of gods were sometimes shown on stage: e.g., Aesch., *Suppl.* 189, 201; Eur., *Hipp.* 82, 101; Arist., *Peace* 726. Cf. Arnott, *Conventions*, 65-69; and A. Katzouris, 'The Employment of Artistic Means in Greek Drama', *Prometheus* 8 (1982), 144-145.

[41] Although Moret (*Ilioupersis*, 81) remarks that: "A ma connaissance, si l'on fait abstraction des représentations du double rapt, il n'est pas un seul document qui montre Ulysse portant le Palladion" (also A. Hermann, review of R. Hampe, *Sperlonga und Vergil* [Mainz 1972], in: *ArtBull* 56 [1974], 276). A whole tradition, seemingly initiated by the *Little Iliad*, credits Diomedes with the primary rôle in stealing the idol: e.g., Conon, *FGrHist* 26 F 1 (34); Hesych. δ 1890 Latte, s.v. Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη. Cf. Chavannes, *De raptu*, 22, 38, 42; Severyns, *Cycle*, 351-352; Fenik, *Iliad X*, 13 n. 2.

object of his mission, Odysseus shifts to the more intimate mode of the personal request. Translated into non dramatic terms, the progression reflects a deliberate move away from the traditional images of mythology and towards the vaguer and more personal tones of a religiosity conceived in syncretistic terms.

Dramatic Precedents

The theft of the Palladium, alone or in combination with a *ptocheia*, was the subject of tragedy. In *Poetics* 23.1459 b 6, Aristotle lists titles of tragedies whose subject matter is drawn from Homer and the epic cycle:

> τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας μία τραγῳδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας, ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλαὶ καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος {(πλέον) ὀκτώ. οἷον ὅπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εὐρύπυλος, πτωχεία, Λάκαιναι, Ἰλίου πέρσις, καὶ ἀπόπλους {καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρῳάδες}}.
>
> "The result is that out of an *Iliad* or an *Odyssey* only one tragedy can be made, or two at most, whereas several have been made out of the *Cypria*, and out of the *Little Iliad* more than eight, e.g. *The Award of Arms*, *Philoctetes*, *Neoptolemus*, *Eurypylus*, *The Begging*, *The return of the Fleet*, and *Sinon*, too, and *The Trojan Women*."

G. Else argued that the bracketed text is an interpolation and that the twice bracketed words are later additions to that interpolation,[42] as "the names in our list — except *Lacaenae*, *Sinon* and *Troades* — are not play-titles but designations based on Proclus, referring to sections of the epic Cycle which would be suitable for tragedy" (593). The athetesis of the passage, however, does not put into question the existence of several tragic works not documented elsewhere, such as the alleged Πτωχεία. The existence of a play entitled *Neoptolemos*, for example, cannot be ruled out on the ground that its mention in Aristotle may be due to an interpolator, nor can doubt be cast upon plays whose titles

[42] *Poetics*, 588-593. The interpolation was already suspected by Welcker, *Cyclus* I-II, 1148 n. 1; *contra* A. Rostagni, *Aristotele. Poetica* (Turin 1945), *ad loc.*, "nè occorre emendare il testo". On Sophocles' Ἀχαιναι, one of the plays alluded to in *Poet.* 1459 b 6, S. Radt, TrGF 4 writes: "Hanc fabulam inter eas quae ex Iliade Parva factae sunt enumerat Arist. (vel eius interpolator);" cf. Radt's corresponding notes on pp. 195 (Εὐρύπυλος), 363 (Νεοπτόλεμος), 419 (Σκύριοι).

and contents are known from other sources, such as Sophocles' *Lacaenae* (TrGF 4, F 367-369a Radt).

Lacaenae, F 367, in which Diomedes or Odysseus states that they entered Troy through the sewer, proves that Sophocles' play dealt with the theft of the Palladium.[43] It has been conjectured that part of the action took place in Helen's apartment in Troy and that the train of her attendants formed the chorus of the play (cf. TrGF 4, p. 328). Odysseus' reconnaissance to Troy was also treated in Ion's *Phrouroi* (TrGF 1, 19 F 43a-49a Snell). The *testimonium* documenting the encounter between Odysseus and Helen in that play (F 44)[44] suggests that it dealt with Odysseus' spying mission and his recognition by Helen.[45]

The literary association between the beggar disguise, the reconnaissance, and the Palladium episode has led some scholars to take the word πτωχεία preceding Λάκαιναι in the passage from the *Poetics* as an alternative title for the same play (TrGF 4, pp. 328-329). Others have identified the πτωχεία with the *Phrouroi* by Ion (see n. 44), or a lost play of Sophocles, which may have drawn from the former's composition.[46] Given this rich repertoire of the subject in Greek tragic poetry, the author of the Cologne papyrus could easily have borrowed the beggar theme from the traditional stock of material suitable for a tragedy dealing with Odysseus' reconnaissance prior to, or in conjunction with, the theft of the Palladium. This, however, would not preclude a possible *retractatio* alluding to a specific literary precedent, such as Sophocles' *Lacaenae*[47] or, indeed, the addition of new elements to an old theme. The author may have been familiar with a wider range of models, but our knowledge of such

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[43] Arist., *Wasps* 351 and *Schol.*: ὅτι τὸ παλλάδιον δι' ὑδρορρόας εἰσῆλθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα R; Serv., *in Aen.* 2.166. Cf. A.C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* II (Cambridge U.K. 1917), 34-38; D.F. Sutton, *The Lost Sophocles* (Lanham-New York-London 1984), 66-68.

[44] Arist., *Frogs* 1425 and *Schol.*: παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἴωνος Φρουρῶν, ὅπου ἡ Ἑλένη πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσέα φησὶ (TrGF 1, 19 F 43a Snell follows).

[45] Welcker, *Cyclus* III, 948-951.

[46] L. Lirussi, 'Due vasi attici con scene della "Ptocheia" di Sofocle (?)', *Dioniso* 15 (1942), 164-173; M. Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie. Erläuterungen* (Göttingen 1954, 2nd ed.), 185-186.

[47] On the notion of *retractatio* and the qualities inherent to the literary type, see B. Snell, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen* (Berlin 1971), 108 n. 31.

works — *testimonia*, fragments and titles of plays[48] — disallows further speculation.

Odysseus' reconnaissance in Troy was also treated in comedy. It is a source of mythological burlesque in Epicharmus' *Odysseus Automolos* (CGFP 83-84 Austin; F 100-104 Kaibel), in which Odysseus actually shirks his clandestine mission of entering Ilion.[49] Mythological themes were particularly favored by the poets of Middle Comedy and continued to be treated in the New Comedy period, though on a much reduced scale.[50] While our author may have been acquainted with works of mythological burlesque from these genres, no extant fragment of Middle or New Comedy deals with the theft of the Palladium. Neither do the remains of satyr plays preserve any treatment of this particular subject.[51] This does not preclude the possibility that the Cologne papyrus is part of a comedy or satyr play, but such an assessment would be difficult to defend. The passage which the modern reader may find comic — the pompous hymn filled with hyperbolic diction and the allusion to Athena's military boots — may have been less amusing in post-Macedonian Egypt and might instead be viewed as the reflection of the author's own oriental flair and background.

[48] E.g., Theodectas, *Helen* (TrGF 1, 72 F 3); Diogenes of Sinope, *Helen* (TrGF 1, [redacted] F 1 b); Alexis, *Helen* (CAF II 1 F 70 K), *Rapt of Helen* (F 71-72 K) and *Helen's Suitors* (F 75 K); Chaeremon, *Odysseus* (TrGF 1, 71 F 13); TrGF 2, Ad. F 7a (*Odysseus*), 7b (*Odysseus the Lying Messenger*), 174, 684.

[49] A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1962, 2nd ed.), 255. Mythological burlesque is absent from extant plays by Aristophanes: K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (Berkeley 1972), 218; A.C. Cassio, 'Two Studies on Epicharmus and his Influence', *HSCP* [redacted] (1985), 42.

[redacted] Hunter, *Eubulus*, 22-30 (esp. 23 with n. 1); U. Reinhardt, *Mythologische Beispiele in der neuen Komödie (Menander, Plautus, Terenz)* 1 (Diss. Mainz 1974). A play by Rhinthon possibly served as a model for Plautus' *Amphitruo* (cf. E. Segal, *CW* 74:7 [1981], 378).

[51] Cf. D.F. Sutton, 'A Complete Handlist to the Literary Remains of the Greek Satyr Plays', *AncW* 3 (1980), 115-130.

Chapter IV

Greek Letters in Roman Upper Egypt

The nature of P. Köln VI 245 remains uncertain. It may be a tragic adespotum by a local playwright working for an undiscriminating public (Koenen, Parca). Or, if the text is a single speech, it could be an ethopoea on the subject: "what would Odysseus say when setting out to enter Troy in disguise?" (Parsons).[1] The text could also be a school lesson by an undistinguished pupil; the tedious and repetitive line by line composition could indicate a recitation exercise (Austin) or a composition assignment (Kassel). Be it the work of an amateur tragic poet, an aspiring rhetorician[2] or a student trying his hand at verse composition, this provincial production testifies to the continuing vigor of literary life in Upper Egypt in the third century A.D. If, in fact, the new fragment is tragic in nature, it is important to consider the evidence for drama and theatre in Egypt during the Roman period.

Post-Classical Tragedy

The revival of old tragedy at the City Dionysia in Athens from 387/6 onwards suggests that the works of the three great fifth-century tragedians were regarded as a canon as early as the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.[3] In-

[1] On the considerable popularity of the ethopoea in the Roman period, see G. Guidorizzi, 'Gli epigrammi papiracei di epoca imperiale', *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* II (Naples 1984), 315-316. If the Cologne text is an ethopoea, however, the stage direction announcing Odysseus' exit at line 22 would be incongruous.

[2] Cf. Antisthenes, *Odysseus*, esp. 3 and 9 (I owe the reference to Mr. Neil O'Sullivan, Cambridge University).

[3] Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 99-100, and 104-107 on IG II^2 2318.202.

deed, post-Euripidean tragedy was already viewed as a degenerate literary form by Aristophanes (e.g., *Frogs* 83-97; *Peace* 802-817), a long-lived prejudice.[4]

Dramatic performances were encouraged under the Ptolemies. Ptolemy II Philadelphus, whose interest in the letters and the arts affected much of the "Alexandrian age", organized a circle of tragic poets, the "Pleiad", who continued to write for the stage and, in all likelihood, were based in Alexandria.[5] Tragedians from the Hellenistic period generally drew their topics from the traditional stock,[6] but they also treated new ones, such as *Daphnis* (Sositheus, TrGF 1, 99 F 2), *Astragalistai* (Alexander Aetolus, TrGF 1, 101 F 1), or *Adonis* (Ptolemy IV Philopator, TrGF 1, 119). Historical drama was also written, both on contemporary topics (e.g., Lycophron's *Cassandreis*),[7] and on events from the distant past; in the second century B.C., Ezechiel wrote, among other Jewish tragedies, the Mosaic play *Exagoge*.[8]

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[4] Still current today, this opinion occasionally gives rise to renewed interest in the subject; for example, Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy* (Athens 1980), defines the new literary trends in this transitional, pre-Hellenistic form of tragedy.

[5] On the Pleiad, Hellenistic drama and theatre, see: [illegible]. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* I (Leipzig 1891), 269-283; E. Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Altertum* (Leipzig 1896), 244-257; F. Schramm, *Tragicorum Graecorum hellenisticae quae dicitur aetatis fragmenta* (Diss. Münster 1929); [illegible]. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton 1961, 2nd ed.), 34-35, 108-128; Webster, *Bühnenaltertümer*, 63-64; A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, transl. by J. Willis & C. de Heer (New York 1966), 743- 746; Sifakis, *Studies*; Fraser, *Alexandria* I, 618-620 with nn. 6-10 in II, 871-873; Taplin, *LCM* 1976, 47-50; Nachtergael, *Sôteria*; H.J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin-New York 1977), passim; Seeck, *Drama*, 195-199; A. Lesky, *Greek Tragedy*, transl. by A.H. Frankfort (London-New York 1978, 3rd ed.), 201-212; Gentili, *Performances*; A. Lesky, *Greek Tragic Poetry*, transl. by M. Dillon (New Haven-London 1983), 403-405; Rice, *Procession*, 52-53.

[6] Cf. Moschion's *Telephus* (TrGF 1, 97 [illegible] 2), Lycophron's *Oedipus* and *Andromeda* (TrGF 1, 100 T 3), and Nicomachus of Alexandria in Troad's *Neoptolemus*, *Perseis* and *Polyxena* (TrGF 1, 126 T 1).

[7] See P. Venini, *Dioniso* n.s. [illegible] (1953), [illegible] ff., and Jacobson, *Ezekiel*, 3-4 and nn. 17-18.

[8] TrGF 1, 128 Snell, and now Jacobson, *Exagoge*. On the importance of the *Exagoge* for the reconstruction of post-classical tragedy, see A. Kappelmacher, 'Zur

The numerous surviving names of authors and lists of titles indicate that the writing and performance of tragedy were vigorously pursued in the first century B.C. and throughout the Roman period. Unfortunately, however, the preserved titles and fragments are too few to allow any precise understanding of these works' subjects or particular style,[9] even if Sozomen's *testimonium* on the fourth century A.D. Bishop Apollinarius of Laodice suggests that the classical canon held as model by authors of the Roman era was similar to that of the Hellenistic period:

> [The Emperor Julian forbids the children of Christians from being instructed in the writings of the Greek poets and orators. Resistance to his decree.]
>
> ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μετρίως Ἀπολινάριος ὁ Σύρος πρὸς παντοδαπὴν εἴδησιν καὶ λόγων ἰδέαν παρεσκευασμένος --- ἠνίκα δὴ Ἀπολινάριος οὗτος εἰς καιρὸν τῇ πολυμαθείᾳ καὶ τῇ φύσει χρησάμενος ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως ἐν ἔπεσιν ἡρῴοις τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν συνεγράψατο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Σαούλ βασιλείας --- ἐπραγματεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μενάνδρου δράμασιν εἰκασμένας κωμῳδίας, καὶ τὴν Εὐριπίδου τραγῳδίαν καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου λύραν ἐμιμήσατο. (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.18)
>
> "Apollinarius the Syrian, a man versed in every branch of knowledge and literature, greatly annoyed him (...) Apollinarius then purposely employed his great learning and natural talent — which were on a par with Homer's — in the composition in heroic verse of a work on the early history of the Hebrews until the reign of Saoul (...) He also wrote comedies fashioned after those of Menander, tragedies in the manner of Euripides, and lyric poetry in imitation of Pindar."

While many secondary sources — literary and epigraphical — on ancient drama transmit names of playwrights and plays, papyri usually preserve only

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Tragödie der hellenistischen Zeit', *WS* 44 (1924), 69-86; Taplin, *LCM* 1976, 48 (*contra* Jacobson, *Exagoge*, 33, nn. 1 and 32).

[9] Seeck, *Drama*, 199-201 briefly surveys the secondary evidence on Greek tragedy between 200 B.C. and A.D. 500.

the texts. As such, the new Cologne papyrus on Odysseus' *ptocheia* in Troy is perhaps best viewed within the papyrological corpus of tragic *adespota*. These texts, ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D., document the continuing impact of classical tragedy on later creations, and also the nature of late theatrical performances.

Topics drawn from the Trojan cycle were particularly favored in post-Euripidean tragedy, both in the Hellenistic and Roman periods,[10] but only one fragment approaches the subject matter of the Cologne piece. In TrGF II Ad. F 636a, an Oxford papyrus dated to the third-second century B.C., Helen alludes to her marriage to Deiphobus:

8]·εδόθην δε_[
]Κύπριδος εκει
]μοι νυμφίος ἄλλος
] Δηίφοβος λ_( )ης
12]_ται δεινα_
]_τους Πριάμου παῖς
]πια_τ( )κομε Λήδα

This incident is mentioned in lines 34-36 of the Cologne piece in an exposé of the sequence of events following the death of Paris.[11] Also similar to P. Köln VI 245 are dramatic fragments such as Ad. F 649 (P. Oxy. XXXVI 2746, 1st-2nd century A.D., perhaps from a play entitled *Hector*) and Ad. F 665 (PSI XIII 1303, 2nd-3rd century A.D., possibly from a *Septem* or a *Phoenissae*)

[10] The texts listed below are those which, for metrical and linguistic reasons, are regarded as fragments of post-Euripidean tragedies on Trojan topics:

TrGF 2, Ad. F 628 (P. Hibeh 178, 3rd cent. B.C.): Unclear Trojan subject.

Ad. F 636a (P. Oxon. ined., 3rd-2nd cent. B.C.): Helen's marriage to Deiphobus.

Ad. F 644 (P. Oxon., 1st cent. A.D.): *Andromache?*

Ad. F 649 (P. Oxy. XXXVI 2746, 1st-2nd cent. A.D.): *Hector?* (cf. Gentili, *Performances*, 65-87; Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, 92-93).

[11] Lost tragic works of all periods dealing with or related to the Trojan cycle abound: TrGF 2, Ad. F 627, 628, 637, 639(?), 656, 668, 671a, 680 and 684. Trojan subjects are also common in the non-dramatic poetry of the Hellenistic period: SH 473 (Heliodorus, *Protesilaos*), 720 (Simonides Carystius, *Assembly of the Achaeans*), 849 (Timolaus of Macedon, *Troica*), Ad. 952 (*Penelope?*).

whose meter and diction suggest a post-Hellenistic date and whose appearance on the verso of documents hints at local compositions.

Literary Papyri

The place of origin of the Cologne text is of particular importance if the fragment is an autograph. Although its findspot is unknown, its purchase in Upper Egypt in a lot containing documents from Pathyris (P. Köln I 50 and 51) suggests that it was possibly unearthed in the region, perhaps in the greater area of Luxor.[12]

The relative scarcity of papyri in Upper Egypt is probably due, at least in part, to the fortunes of the spade rather than to any cultural backwardness in the region.[13] The texts recovered from that area, though few in comparison with those unearthed in Middle Egypt, are important.[14] In addition to Gnostic and

[12] Upper Egypt is here understood as the whole Thebaid, embracing all the nomes south of the Hermopolite. Cf. J.D. Thomas, 'The Administrative Divisions of Egypt', *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology* (ASP 7, Toronto 1970), 465. M. Manfredi, 'Cultura letteraria nell' Egitto greco e romano', *Egitto e società antica* (Milan 1985), pointedly remarks that "se si fede alle relazioni dei viaggiattori dell' Ottocento, si diceva che molto materiale papiraceo, rotoli importanti, fossero stati acquistati a Luxor e dintorni" (277).

[13] Certain areas, such as the Delta, have yielded few, or in some instances, no papyri on account of the natural ravages wrought by the level of the water-table; in other areas, such as Roman Thebes, uninterrupted occupation has been the cause of destruction.

[14] For a quantitative distribution of literary papyri according to provenances as of 1968, see M. Mertens, 'Papyrus littéraires grecs et latins', *Proceedings XIIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970), 303-304. The concept of provinciality in literary papyrology is inherently paradoxical: "les papyrus ne nous apprennent guère ce qui se passait dans la capitale du pays; nous ne pouvons nous faire une idée ... que de la vie poétique passive dans les villes et certains villages de province" (B.A. van Groningen, 'L'Egypte dans le mouvement poétique grec', *Actes du XIème Congrès International de Papyrologie* [Warsaw 1964], 33). W.H. Willis, 'A Census of the Literary Papyri from Egypt', *GRBS* 9 (1968), 205-241 classifies the literary finds chronologically. A. Wouters ('De literaire papyri en de Griekse literatuur', *Kleio* N.R. 5 [1975], 6-29) provides an annotated list, as of 1972, of authors and texts known only through papyri (8-13), and outlines the popularity, transmission and ancient critical exegesis of Greek literature in Egypt

Coptic libraries[15] and manuscripts such as the Cologne Mani Codex,[16] Upper Egypt has yielded an abundance of Greek literary and subliterary texts.

Listed according to their geographic findspots from north to south, these include:

1. Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, *scholia* on the first book of Callimachus' *Aitia*, and the hypothesis and commentary to Demosthenes (163, 197, 307 Pack²). Papyrus. From Moirai (Meir). 1st century A.D.
2. Homer, *Iliad* 2–4, excerpts, and Tryphon, *Ars grammatica* (634, 1539 Pack²). Papyrus codex. From Ma'abdeh (village between Moirai and Lycopolis, modern Asyût). 3rd century A.D.
3. Fragment of an Alexander History (P. Brit. Libr. 3085 verso). Papyrus roll. From Asyût. 2nd century B.C.[17]
4. Dioscorus, autograph poems (348, 349, 351, 352 Pack² = Heitsch XLII). Papyrus and papyrus codex. From Aphrodito. 6th century A.D.[18]

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revealed by the papyri (16-21). The publication of Pack³ is being prepared by Prof. P. Mertens of the Université de Liège.

[15] On the Coptic manuscripts from the White Monastery (Sohag, near Panopolis), dating from the mid-fourth century A.D. and later, see D. Young, 'Observations on White Monastery Codices attested in the University of Michigan Library', *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* II (Naples 1984), 763-766. On the Coptic Gnostic library from Chenoboskion (Nag Hammadi Monastery), dated to the fourth century A.D., see J.M. Robinson, 'The Coptic Gnostic Library Today', *NTS* 14 (1967-1968), 356-401; *id.*, *The Nag Hammadi Codices* (Claremont 1974); *Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Leiden 1973-1977).

[16] L. Koenen - C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Über das Werden seines Leibes. Kritische Edition* (Pap. Colon. 14, Opladen 1988); first published by L. Koenen and A. Henrichs in *ZPE* 19 (1975), 1-85; 32 (1978), 87-199; 44 (1981), 201-318; 48 (1982), 1-59.

[17] W. Clarysse-G. Schepens, 'A Ptolemaic Fragment of an Alexander History', *CE* 60 (1985), 30-47.

[18] See Clarysse, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 55-56; L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito. His Work and his World* (Berkeley 1988).

5. Menander, parts of *Heros*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*, *Perikeiromene*, *Fabula incerta*, and Eupolis, fragments of *Demoi* (375, 1301 Pack²). Papyrus codex. From Aphrodito. 4-5th century A.D.[19]

6. Homer, *Iliad* 2, excerpts (658 Pack²). Papyrus codex. From Aphrodito? 6th century A.D.

7. Hyperides, *In Athenogenem* (1235 Pack²). Papyrus roll. From Panopolis (Akmîm). 2nd century B.C.

8. Homer, *Iliad* 5 and [illegible] (736 Pack²). Papyrus roll. Apparently from Panopolis. Second half 3rd century A.D.- first half 4th century A.D.

9. Homer, *Odyssey* 9, two excerpts (P. Duke inv. [illegible] 176). Papyrus codex. From Panopolis. 3rd century A.D.[20]

[illegible]0. List of philosophers (P. Duke inv. G 178). Papyrus. From Panopolis. 4th century A.D.[21]

11. Hesiod and Euripides fragments (427, 494 Pack²). Papyrus codex. From Panopolis. 4th-5th century A.D.

12. Menander, *Dyscolus*, parts of *Aspis* and *Samia* (1298 Pack²). Papyrus codex. From Panopolis? 3rd century A.D.[22]

13. Menander, fragments of *Aspis* and *Misumenus* (1318 Pack²). Parchment codex. Panopolis or Hermupolis? 5th century A.D.

14. Iambic trimeters on tragic theme of Alcestis. Ostracon. From Mons Claudianus. 2nd century A.D.[23]

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[19] See the photographic edition: *The Cairo Codex of Menander, P. Cair. J. 43227*, a photogr. [illegible]. prep. under the supervision of H. Riad and A. el-K. Selim, with a pref. by L. Koenen (London, Institute of Classical Studies 1978); Claysse, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 57.

[20] W.H. Willis, 'Two Literary Papyri from Panopolis', *ICS* 3 (1978), 144-146.

[illegible] W.W. Willis, *ICS* 3 (1978), 146-151.

[illegible] Turner, *Introduction*, 51-53, 201 dates P. Bodmer IV [illegible] the end of the 3rd century A.D.

[23] H. Cuvigny-G. Wagner, 'Ostraca grecs du Mons Claudianus' (13. Fragment tragique), *ZPE* 62 (1986), 71-73; E.W. Handley, 'O. Mons Claudianus 13', *ZPE* 68 (1987), 11-13. The quarries of black granit which the Romans called Mons Clau-

15. Hyperides, *Pro Lycophrone, Pro Eunexippo, In Demosthenem* (1233 Pack²). Papyrus roll. From Thebes (Gourna). 2nd century A.D.

16. Chemical and alchemical treatises (1997, 1998 Pack²). Papyrus codex. From Thebes. 4th century A.D.[24]

17. *Blemyomachia* (1852 Pack² = Heitsch XXXII). Papyrus codex. From Thebes. 5th century A.D.[25]

18. Declamation based on the Battle of Arginusae (2495 Pack²). Papyrus roll. From Thebes. 1st century A.D.[26]

19. Magical hymns (1865 Pack²). Papyrus. From Thebes. 4th century A.D.

20. Ethopoeae on Homeric themes (1844 Pack² = Heitsch XXVI). Papyrus codex. From Thebes? 4th century A.D.

21. School exercises on Homer (557, 563, 586 Pack²). Limestone. From Monastery of Epiphanius. 6th-7th century A.D.[27]

22. 'Alexandrian erotic fragment' (1743 Pack²). Papyrus roll. From Pathyris. 2nd century B.C.[28]

23. Libretto for a mime (1748 Pack²)? Papyrus roll. From Apollinopolis. A.D. 117.[29]

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dianus were situated in the Eastern desert of Upper Egypt (Cl. Préaux, *CE* 26 [1951], 354-355; A. Bernand, *Pan du désert* [Leiden 1977], 78-83).

[24] Bataille, *Memnonia*, 285-290; Turner, *Introduction*, 43-44, 46-47; and, most recently, [redacted]. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs*. Tome I: *Papyrus de Leyde. Papyrus de Stockholm. Fragments de recettes* (Paris 1981), 5-6 (on provenance).

[25] Tentatively ascribed to Olympiodorus by E. Livrea (*Anonymi fortasse Olympiodori Thebani Blemyomachia (P. Berol. 5003)* [Meisenheim 1978]). Further fragments of the epic, from the same codex, were recovered from the Monastery of Phoebammon (Western Thebes): L.S.B. MacCoull, 'Papyrus Fragments from the Monastery of Phoebammon', *Proc. XVIth Intern. Congr. Papyr.* (ASP 23, Chico 1981), 491-498. See also W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St. Phoibammon*. Deir el-Bahari V (Warsaw 1986).

[26] Republished as P. Yale II 105 by S.A. Stephens (ASP 24, Chico 1985).

[27] H.E. Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York 1926).

[28] See Clarysse, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 52.

[29] Reitzenstein identified the text (P. Giss. 3) as the proclamation of a festival, Croenert as a mime (Pack² *ad loc.*); Clarysse, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 53-54.

24. Two scolia and an elegy (1924 Pack²). Papyrus roll. From Elephantine. 3rd century B.C.

25. List of scenes from the Trojan and Theban cycles (1737 Pack²). Ostracon. From Elephantine. 2nd century A.D.[30]

26. Homer, *Iliad* 8 and *Odyssey* 2 and 5, short excerpts. Papyrus roll. From Qasr Ibrim (Egyptian Nubia). 1st century B.C.[31]

27. Thucydides VI, 1.1-2.6. Papyrus codex. From Upper Egypt. 3rd-4th century A.D.[32]

These select examples should rid us of the view of Upper Egypt as a culturally impoverished region.[33] Moreover, yet other literary papyri could be argued ■ have come from Upper Egypt.[34]

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[30] P. Berol. Inv. 21160, a 2nd century A.D. papyrus preserving several hymns, was perhaps found at Elephantine as well: ■. Maehler, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 94-101 (esp. 81 n. 2).

[31] M.E. Weinstein-E.G. Turner, 'Greek and Latin Papyri from Qasr Ibrim', *JEA* 62 (1976), 116-119.

[32] A. Carlini, 'Il papiro di Tucidide della Bibliotheca Bodmeriana (P. Bodmer XXVII)', *MH* 32 (1975), 33-40.

[33] Latin papyri are not included in our list, but several texts are noteworthy for their provenances. From Upper Egypt are the epigrams of Cornelius Gallus, found at Qasr Ibrim (Primis, ■ Egyptian Nubia) in 1978. Their recovery in Egypt ■ probably owed to the presence of the Roman army in the first century A.D. Cf. R.D. Anderson-P.J. Parsons-R.G.M. Nisbet, 'Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim', *JRS* 69 (1979), 125-155; W.Y. Adams, 'Ptolemaic and Roman occupation ■ Qasr Ibrim', *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 9-17. A papyrus codex ■ Barcelona, dated to the second half of the fourth century A.D. and containing Cicero's first two *Catilinarians* and anonymous hexameters on Alcestis, may have come from Panopolis. Cf. R. Roca-Puig, *Ciceró. Catilinàries (I-II in Cat.) Papyri Barcinonenses* (Barcelona 1977); *id.*, *Alcestis. Hexàmetres Llatins. Papyri Barcinonenses Inv. nr. 158-161* (Barcelona 1982); and ■. Marcovich, *Alcestis Barcinonensis. Text and commentary* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 103, Leiden 1988). Greek poets of the age were acquainted with the Latin language and literature: Cameron, *Historia* 1965, 494-497 and *YCS* 1982, 233; B. Baldwin, 'Vergilius Graecus', *AJP* ■ (1976) 361-368; P.J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Volume L* (London 1983), 60; ■. Cavenaile, 'Le latin dans les milieux chrétiens d'Egypte', *Miscel·lània papirològica*, 103; P. Mertens, 'Les papyrus littéraires latins d'auteurs classiques durant les deux dernières décennies', *Miscel·lània papirològica*, 189-204. Latin was part of the school cur-

Cultural Context

The turbulent history of Upper Egypt greatly affected the character of Greek letters of the region. The harsh Ptolemaic and Roman repression following the Theban risings of 85 and 29 B.C. respectively, quelled the rebellious energies of an area which had traditionally been a stronghold of Egyptian nationalism.[35] Nevertheless, in the Roman period Thebes and its environs continued to be an active economic and religious center, though on a smaller scale.[36] Between the first century A.D. and the end of the third century A.D. the city became a tourist attraction, a phenomenon directly corroborated by the graffiti and inscriptions on the walls of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings and on the legs of the colossus of Memnon.[37]

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riculum in Roman Egypt: M. Hamdi Ibrahim, *L'éducation gréco-romaine en Egypte du Ier au 4ème siècle de notre ère d'après les papyrus* (Athens 1972), 173-190.

[34] For example, neither the fragmentary (epic?) poem celebrating the Egyptian city of Thebes in P. Berol. 5226 verso (1797 Pack^2 = Heitsch XL; 7th century A.D.), nor the encomium celebrating a military leader of the Thebaid preserved in P. Berol. 9799 (= Heitsch II Suppl. 10; 5th century A.D.?), nor the elegy on old age by a certain Posidippus of Thebes (= Heitsch I; autograph on wooden tablets; 1st century A.D.) have provenances. That they were local compositions from Upper Egypt, however, seems likely.

[35] J.G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (London 1924, 3rd ed.), 5-6; H.I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (Oxford 1948), 61; W. Peremans, 'Les révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides', *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin, hrg. H. Maehler-V.M. Strocka (Mainz 1978), 39-50; A.B. Lloyd, 'Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt', *Historia* 31 (1982), 33-55 [focuses on Egyptian propaganda literature] and n. 4 [general bibliography]; Koenen, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 151 n. 23 and *BASP* 21, 1984, 131-142; and M. Reddé, in: *Le camp romain de Louqsor* (various authors) (Mém. IFAO 83, Cairo 1986), 20 n. 4 [on unrest in Egypt in the late third century A.D.].

[36] Bataille, *CE* 1951, 346-348; and M. Reddé, *Camp de Louqsor*, 20-31 on the establishment of the military installations in the early fourth century A.D.

[37] Bataille, *CE* 1951, 348-351. Cf. J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes* (Mém. IFAO 42, Cairo 1926); Bataille, *Memnonia*, 152-178; A. Bernand - E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Cairo 1960); G.W. Bowersock, 'The Miracle of Memnon', *BASP* 21 (1984), 21-32.

As would be expected in light of this history, Upper Egypt was a region of strong cultural contrasts. Fierce pagan resistance ■ Christianity coexisted with the growth and development of Gnosticism (Nag Hammadi). Marked indigenous hostility towards the Greeks and their language coexisted with pervasive and successful hellenization.[38] And a long-lasting tradition of Egyptian nationalism survived alongside an interest on the part of the Egyptian upper class in transmitting the Greek tradition and fostering new endeavors in Greek letters.[39]

Ever since the Ptolemaic period the Thebaid was a land of reciprocal assimilation, an important manifestation of which was a linguistic symbiosis whereby patterns of thought and expression particularly Egyptian were absorbed by the Greek language, and, in turn, Greek poetic images made their way into Egyptian mythological texts. The intrusion of local realities in Greek monuments is illustrated by the poetry inscribed upon four funeral stelai from Edfu dated to the second half of the second century B.C.[40] Composed and signed by a certain Herodes, the inscriptions combine the conventional themes of Greek funerary epigrams with paraphrases of hieroglyphic official titles and references

■ Bataille, *Memnonia*, 287-291; Koenen, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 143-190. There was a gymnasium at Thebes: ■. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* 2 (Paris 1950), 843. On the Greek school texts from Thebes, see ■. Collart, 'Les papyrus scolaires', *Mélanges A.M. Desrousseaux* (Paris 1937), 68-80. School texts preserved on papyri and ostraca are collected in ■. Zalateo, 'Papiri scolastici', *Aegyptus* 41 (1961), 160-235, with a recent update by J. Debut, 'Les documents scolaires', *ZPE* 63 (1986), 251-278. On school curriculum in Egypt during the Roman period, see M. Hamdi Ibrahim, *Education* (see above, n. 33).

[39] See M. Manfredi, 'Cultura letteraria nell' Egitto greco-romano', *Egitto e società antica* (Milan 1985), 271-285. There is no consensus on whether a genuine Graeco-egyptian culture emerged ■ Egypt, or whether the Greek and Egyptian cultures coexisted with limited interaction. See, more recently, L. Koenen, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, *BASP* 21 (1984), 111-156 and 22 (1985), 171-194; O. Montevecchi, 'Egiziani e Greci: ■ coesistenza delle due culture nell' Egitto romano', *Egitto e società antica* (Milan 1985), 233-245; R.S. Bagnall, 'Greeks and Egyptians: Ethnicity, Status, and Culture', *Cleopatra's Egypt* (The Brooklyn Museum 1988), 21-27.

[40] Cairo Museum, Cat. 9205, 9203, 316, 9206 = ■. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Egypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Egypte* (Paris 1969), nrs. 5, 6, 35, 7.

to local topography. For example, the toponym Bakhthis (Βαχθίς), which transcribes the Egyptian Bḥd.t ("Behdet"), preserves the archaizing and religious appellation [illegible] Edfu over the city's administrative and secular name (ḏbꜣw, Coptic ⲧⲃⲱ, Arabic Edfu).[41] The reverse phenomenon is illustrated by the hieroglyphics on the myth of Horus, also second century in date, inscribed on the walls of the god's temple in Edfu. [illegible] the inscription VI 120, 6-8 Horus treats Seth's corpse [illegible] way reminiscent of the manner in which Achilles abuses Hector's body in *Iliad* 22.395-404, and in the animal sacrifice which follows the taking of the city of Hebenou (inscription VI 116.8-117.1), Horus' allotment of the σπλάγχνα to his followers before serving only a small portion of meat to the other gods recalls the Greek sacrificial practices described in Homer.[42]

Literary and intellectual centers flourished in Upper Egypt during the late Empire. Lycopolis is linked with the name of Plotinus in the third century A.D.,[43] and Aphrodito with that of Dioscorus, a jurist, landowner and poet of the Byzantine period.[44] The self-proclaimed scholasticus from Panopolis and his brother panegyrist in the first half of the fourth century A.D.[45] hint at un-

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[41] Cairo Museum, Cat. 9206, line 3 = Bernand, nr. 35; J. Yoyotte, 'Bakhthis: Religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou', *Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine* (Strasbourg 1969), 127-141. P. Lond. I 43, a fragmentary private letter dated to the second century B.C., concerns a Greek learning demotic (αἰγύπτια γράμματα), presumably [illegible] order to teach Greek [illegible] Egyptians (Cl. Préaux, 'Lettres privées grecques d'Egypte relatives à l'éducation', *RBPH* 8 [1929], 767-771). See also M.J. Salesses, 'De quelques emprunts à l'arabe dans le grec d'Egypte', *REG* [illegible]-60 (1946-1947), 281-296.

[42] Ph. Derchain, 'Miettes', *REgypt* 26 (1974), 15-19 ("Homère à Edfou"): "[ces rapprochements] sont évidemment réduits [illegible] des comparaisons de thèmes et ne peuvent en aucun cas concerner [illegible] forme précise de l'emprunt, car le génie des deux langues, le grec et l'égyptien, est trop différent pour qu'il puisse être question de tentatives de traduction" (19).

[43] Zucker, *SDAW* 1950, 7-10, 15-17.

[44] His abundant poetry is gathered in Heitsch XLII. Bibliographies can be found [illegible] Clarysse, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 56 nn. 66-68 and L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito* (Berkeley 1988).

[45] G.M. Browne, 'A Panegyrist from Panopolis', *Proc. XIVth Intern. Congr. Papyr.* (London 1975), 29-33; *id.*, 'Harpocration Panegyrista', *ICS* 2 (1977), 184-196. Cf. Cameron, *Historia* 1965, 477-479. On scholastici: A. Claus, 'Ο ΣΧΟ-

interrupted intellectual endeavor in that city,[46] which continued to be a center of Hellenic culture during the later fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[47] Panopolis was also the home of philosophers and professors such as Horapollon and Pamprepius, who headed the last pagan resistance to Christianity.[48] The town was the birthplace of Cyrus, poet, civil servant and eventually bishop during the reign of Theodosius II.[49] There, too, were born the grammarian-poet Triphiodorus[50] and of the epic poet Nonnus, who influenced an entire generation of Egyptian writers such as Colluthus of Lycopolis and Musaeus.[51] During this period the Theban area also hosted an aristocratic intelligentsia im-

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AACTIKOC (Inaugural Dissertation Cologne 1965); P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987), 143-146 (update on papyrological evidence published since 1965).

[46] For example, the Greek poems inscribed on decorated pillars in the garden of Ptolemagrius at Panopolis, whether they date to the first, or to the second or third century A.D., document such activity in the earlier period (text in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* [see n. 40 above], nr. 114; Cameron, *YCS* 1982, 219-220 with notes).

[47] F. Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques* 1 (Paris 1976), x-xi; Cameron, *YCS* 1982, 217-221; Clarysse, *Studia Hellenistica* 1983, 54-55.

[48] See ■. Rémondon, 'L'Egypte et la suprême résistance au christianisme (V-VIIe siècles)', *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 63-78; Cameron, *Historia* 1965, 471-477; *id.*, *YCS* 1982, 220-221; G. Tibiletti, 'Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo: l'Egitto nel III secolo', *Egitto e società antica* (Milan 1985), 247-269; E. Wipszycka, 'La christianisation de l'Egypte aux IVe-VIe siècles. Aspects sociaux et ethniques', *Aegyptus* 68 (1988), 144-145, 163. On Pamprepius as a poet: Cameron, *Historia* 1965, 486, 499-500; *Pamprepii Panopolitani carmina (P. Gr. Vindob. 29788 A-C)*, ■. H. Livrea (Leipzig 1979) (= Beitsch XXXV).

[49] Cameron (*YCS* 1982, 225-235) argues that only two of the seven poems ascribed to Cyrus in the Palatine Anthology are likely to be genuinely his: A.P. 15.9 (a panegyric) and 9.136 (a poem in the pastoral mode), to which one can add A.P. 1.99 (*YCS* 1982, 228; B. Baldwin, *VChr* 36 [1982], 169-172).

[50] P. Oxy. XLI 2946 shows that Triphiodorus was active sometime between the middle of the third and the middle of the fourth century, and not after Nonnus: J.R. Rea (ed. pr.); Cameron, *YCS* 1982, 218 n. 5; ■. Gerlaud, *Triphiodore. La prise d'Ilion* (Paris 1982), 6-9; *Triphiodorus. Ilii excidium*, ed. ■. Livrea (Leipzig 1982).

[51] Most recent editions of their works include: *Il ratto di Elena*, ed. E. Livrea (Bologna 1968); *Collouthos. L'enlèvement d'Hélène*, ed. P. Orsini (Paris 1972); *Musaeus. Hero et Leander*, ed. H. Livrea [adiuv. ■. Eleuteri] (Leipzig 1982).

bued with hellenism. Thebes itself was home ■ the historian Olympiodorus,[52] and Coptus the birthplace of the epic poet Christodorus.[53]

Thus, the agitated history, cultural diversity, evolving language, and local *literati* together suggest that Upper Egypt actively contributed ■ the intellectual life of the province throughout the Roman period. This participation extended to the writing and performance of tragedy and comedy, the context in which the Cologne fragment should probably be viewed.

Theatre

Theatres were a primary focus of the literary scene in Egypt, and most of the large towns had a theatre in which both familiar works of classical drama and new creations were performed.[54] The organization of dramatic and musical performers into guilds — probably from the first quarter of the third century B.C. on — had a great impact on the establishment or enlargement of festivals[55] and on the continued production of old and new works. Local synods of

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■ Cameron, *Historia* 1969, 490-491, 497; E. Livrea, *Anonymi fortasse Olympiodori Thebani Blemyomachia* (*P. Berol. 5003*) (Beiträge z. klass. Phil. 101, Meisenheim 1978) (= Heitsch XXXII).

[53] Heitsch Suppl. 8; Zucker, *SDAW* 1950, 17-20; his family seems to have had Panopolitan origins (Cameron, *YCS* 1982, 218 n. 6).

■ Theatres are attested at Alexandria, Ptolemais, Memphis, Antinoe, Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchus: Turner, *AC* 1963, 120 n. 3; Webster, *Bühnenaltertümer*, 49-50; Turner, *Introduction*, 182 n. ■. The papyrological evidence on the living theatre in Graeco-roman Egypt is surveyed in Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, 77-93 (81 n. 24 concerns the two elusive references to the theatres of Heracleopolis and Panopolis). On festivals with poetic competitions in Egypt, see P.M. Fraser, 'An Agonistic Dedication from Roman Egypt', *JEA* 45 (1959), 80. On the travel arrangements of performers, see P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'Transportation of Entertainers ■ Roman Egypt', *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J.C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam 1976), 425-429.

[55] Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 279-305; Sifakis, *Studies*, 19-23, 136-146; T.B.L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London 1970, 2nd ed.), 159-160; Fraser, *Alexandria* I, 205, 232-233; Nachtergael, *Sôteria*, 299-376; Rice, *Procession*, 52-56; ■. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* (Pap. Colon. 13, Opladen 1986), passim.

"the Artists of Dionysus" (οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται)[56] are attested at Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus and Ptolemais,[57] but the duration of their activity remains unknown.[58]

Papyri have yielded extensive information about the performance of mime[59] and the enduring popularity of the genre until the early Byzantine period.[60] The great number of papyri of Roman date preserving dramatic poetry similarly reveals that tragedies and comedies continued to be highly popular. But were these works mainly read and only occasionally performed, and if occasionally,

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[56] On the sociological significance of the term τεχνίτης, see F. Poland, 'Technitai', *RE* A.5 (1934), 2484-2488, and E.C. Welskopf, *Belegstellenverzeichnis altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe von Homer bis Aristoteles* 2 (Berlin 1985), 1862-1863.

[57] The *technitai* took part in the Grand Procession at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Callixenus ap. Athen. 5.198c, and Rice, *Procession*, 56 on the possibility that the guild participating in the Πομπή was the national Egyptian body rather than the local Alexandrian branch). On the dating of the procession between December 275 and February 274 B.C., see V. Poertmeyer, 'The Dating of the Pompe of Ptolemy II Philadelphus', *Historia* 37 (1988), 90-104, and on that of the establishment of the Egyptian guild, see Rice, *Procession*, 53-55. The Alexandrian guild is attested at the end of the third century B.C. in Polyb. 16. 21.8 (Fraser, *Alexandria* II, 870 n. 1), that of Oxyrhynchus in, e.g., P. Oxy. I 171 (A.D. 145-146) and XXVII 2476 (A.D. 289; cf. W. van Rengen, *CE* 91 [1971], 136-141), and that of Ptolemais in OGIS 50-51 (c. 240 B.C.). See, also, M.A. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci* (Milan 1964), 78-89, and Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, 82.

[58] E. Oxy. LIII 3700, dated to the first century A.D., contains the fragmentary text of a mime seemingly contemporary and composed locally. P. Oxy. III 519, dating from the second century A.D., preserves a fragmentary account related to the payment for a mimus, a Homerist and a dancer who performed at a local festival. Cf. E.G. Turner, 'Roman Oxyrhynchus', *JEA* 38 (1952), 83. P. Found Univ. 14 gives evidence for a theatre in use at Memphis in the second or third century A.D. Cf. C.H. Roberts, 'Literature and Society in the Papyri', *MH* 10 (1953), 275; Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, 79.

[59] A. Swiderek, 'Le mime grec en Egypte', *Eos* 47 (1954), 63-74; Turner, *AC* 1963, 121; Wiemken, *Mimus*, 45ff.; *id.*, *Drama*, 410-414.

[60] P. Berol. Inv. 13927 (2437 Pack²) preserves a list of stage properties belonging to a company which performed in the fifth or sixth century A.D.; this same papyrus also contains the libretto of some of the mimes acted (cf. Wiemken, *Mimus*, 43-44, 191-207); Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, 88-90.

when and how? The information which the papyri themselves provide about the actual continued performance of tragic and comic plays during the Roman period is scant,[61] but the available information does reveal a living theatre. For example, PSI X 1176 (CGFP 255 Austin), dating to the first century A.D., preserves several actor's extracts from New Comedy, while P. Oxy. XXVII 2458 (Eur. F 66 Austin), copied in the third century A.D., contains fragments of a stychomythic dialogue followed by part of a choral ode from Euripides' *Cresphontes*. The presence of algebraic sigla in the margin of the latter argues that this papyrus is an acting copy presumably used for an actual theatrical performance at Oxyrhynchus.[62] Also suggestive of an acting edition or selection are the 'reading marks' by the hand of the copying scribe in P. Oxy. L 3533, a second century A.D. fragment of Menander's *Epitrepontes*.

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[61] For literary and epigraphical references to performances in the Roman period, see TrGF 1, pp. 20-21. Also Apul., *Flor.* 18: *tragoedus vociferatur (...) ille tragicus, qui in theatro dici facit: Liber, qui augusta haec loca Cithaeronis colis*; Porphyr. de Gaurum περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐμψυχοῦνται τὰ ἔμβρυα 11,1 p. 48 Kalbfleisch (Abh. Akad. Berlin 1895): ἐμβαίνει δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης (sc. ἡ ψυχή) εἰς φῶς προελθούσης τῆς φύσεως μετὰ τοῦ ἔργου (i.e. τοῦ σώματος) <οὐκ> (add. Kalbfl.) ἀναγκαζόμενος, καθάπερ {δ'} (del. Koenen) ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εἰώθασιν (Koenen : ἐώρακα Kalbfl.) οἱ τὸν Προμηθέα μιμούμενοι· (interp. Kannicht) κειμένου τοῦ πλάσματος τὴν ψυχὴν ποεῖν ἀναγκάζονται εἰσδύντιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα κτλ. (= TrGF 2 Ad. F 8 ii). The Coptic Schenute's familiarity with Greek literature and Aristophanic comedy (A. Erman, 'Schenute und Aristophanes', *ZÄS* 32 [1894], 134-135; J. Barns, 'Schenute as a Historical Source', *Actes Xème Congr. Intern. Papyr.* [Warsaw 1964], 154; B. Wipszycka, *Aegyptus* LXVIII [1988], 147-154) does not mean that he handled a copy of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, or that he saw it performed at Panopolis in the fifth century A.D. (U. Treu, 'Aristophanes bei Schenute', *Philologus* 101 [1957], 325-328).

[62] A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos. Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Leiden 1985), 23-24. Harder (*op. cit.*, 24, 80-81, 85) argues against the opinion that the text shifts abruptly from the prologue to the crisis of the play and that, therefore, the papyrus only contains excerpts of the work (Turner, P. Oxy. XXVII [1962], 76; *id.*, *AC* 1963, 122-128). The edition of P. Mich. Inv. 6973, a new papyrus fragment of Euripides' *Cresphontes* most likely of the second century B.C. and from the Fayum, has established that the Oxyrhynchus papyrus preserves a continuous portion of text from the prologue of the play up to and including parts of the parodos (edition by S. Bonnycastle and L. Koenen forthcoming in the *Proceedings of the University of Michigan Symposium on drama*, 1987). See, also, Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, pp. n. 57.

Another type of performance illustrated in papyri is the monologue excerpted from tragic anapaests and other meters and delivered as a musical solo. Two such are TrGF 2 Ad. F 680 (P. Oslo 1413; 1st-2nd century A.D.) which preserves two passages of Hellenistic tragedy, and TrGF 2 Ad. F 684 (P. Oxy. XLIV 3161; 3rd century A.D.) containing extracts of Imperial date.[63] These selective, musically oriented performances by travelling Dionysiac artists of Hellenistic and Roman times are also documented in inscriptions.[64]

It is certain that acknowledged Greek classics were being performed in Middle Egypt as late as the third century A.D., as is indicated by P. Oxy. XXVII 2458, probably an actor's copy of the same date. The Cologne fragment, while clearly not an actor's copy, may nevertheless have been written for the stage, if at least some of the paragraphi in two of its three columns of text in fact indicate a change of speaker, and if the term ἄπ[ει]μι at line 22 implies an on-

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[63] Cf. Gentili, *Performances*, 18-30. P. Oxy. inv. 31.4 B13 / H(4-5)a (ed. pr. W.E.H. Cockle, *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrology* [London 1975], 59-65) preserves an entry for forty odes (= selected star-turns) from six plays by a choral flautist named Epagathus (cf. Daris, *Aevum Antiquum* 1988, 83).

[64] *SIG*[3] 648 B commemorates the performance which Satyrus of Samos gave in the stadium at Delphi in 194 B.C.: ἄνευ ἀνταγωνιστῶν αὐλῆσαι | τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἀξιωθέντα ἐπιδοῦναι - - - ἄισμα μετὰ χοροῦ | Διόνυσον καὶ κιθάρισμα ἐκ Βακχῶν | Εὐριπίδου. The interpretation of the text is uncertain, but Satyrus seems to have executed an excerpt from the *Bacchai* which he accompanied or had followed by a musical performance (cf. Sifakis, *Studies*, 96, 97 n. 1; Gentili, *Performances*, 27-28). An inscription from the Isthmus and dated to the first half of the second century A.D. honors the Milesian Themison: μόνον καὶ | πρῶτον Εὐριπίδην | Σοφοκλέα καὶ Τιμόθεον | ἑαυτῷ μελοποιήσαντα. Themison appears to have adapted extracts from Euripides, Sophocles and Timotheus to music (cf. O. Broneer, 'Isthmia Excavations', *Hesperia* 22 [1953], 192-193; K. Latte, 'Zur Geschichte der griechischen Tragödie in der Kaiserzeit', *Eranos* 52 [1954], 125-127; BE [1954] nr. 111; K. Latte, 'Noch einmal die Themisonsinschrift', *Eranos* 53 [1955], 75-76). Performances of this kind lie behind the expression *cantare tragoediam* and Roman tragedy: M.P. Nilsson, *Zur Geschichte der Bühnenspiels in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Lund 1906), 16-18; Eitrem-Amundsen, *SO* 31 (1955), 26-29; M. Kokolakis, 'Lucian and the Tragic Performances in his Time', *Platon* 23-24 (1960), 91-95; R. Kassel, 'Kritische und exegetische Kleinigkeiten IV', *RhM* 116 (1973), 106-107; H.A. Kelly, 'Tragedy and the Performance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity', *Traditio* (1979), 21-44.

stage direction. If it was intended for the stage, the Cologne fragment may be one of the few surviving texts to document the living theatre in Upper Egypt in the late Roman period, and if the work is, in fact, an autograph, it may be the rare example of an original dramatic manuscript preserved from antiquity.

Excursus: The Trojan Palladium

The only Homeric reference to a temple of Athena at Troy (*Il.* 6.297) occurs in a passage (lines 286-311) considered by a number of scholars to be an Attic interpolation.[1] Indeed, while the antiquity of the cult is well attested,[2] the temple is not documented before Arrian (*Anabasis* 1.11.7).[3] Located on the acropolis, the temple contained the sacred image, xoanon, of the civic cult of Athena or, perhaps, the Palladium.[4] The distinction between these two ancestral idols is blurred in those ancient sources which recount the myth. It is impossible to know whether the Palladium was a purely legendary idol or the object of a cult in historical Troy, nor can it be established whether the Trojan idol bore any resemblance to the subsequent representations which went by the same name.[5] However, the conformation in later art and literature to the de-

[1] Lorimer, *Monuments*, 442-451; Espermann, *Antenor*, 35-49; Vermeule, *Götterkult*, 106-107, 121; Davies, *LIMC* 1981, 811-815. For bibliography on the temple: Espermann, *Antenor*, 35 n. 2; add: G.L. Huxley, 'Troy VIII and the Lokrian Maidens', *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday* (Oxford 1966), 156-158.

[2] Herodotus 7.43 recalls the sacrifices made by Xerxes.

[3] Literary sources on the sanctuary and the temple are gathered in F.W. Goethert - H. Schleif, *Der Athena-Tempel von Ilion* (Berlin 1962), 34-37. On Trojan Athena, see Burkert, *Religion*, 140-141; Espermann, *Antenor*, 39. On the Ilieia and the Panathenaia at Ilion, see M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religioser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 92-93. Although no consensus has been reached over the dating of the archaeological remains of the temple, the style and iconography of its metopes are those of schools of sculpture prevalent in the early third century B.C. (Holden, *Metopes*, 1-5, 13-23).

[4] On the history and usage of xoana: W.H. Gross, *RE* IX A2 (1967), 2140-2149. On xoana as art: A.A. Donohue, *Xoana and the origins of Greek sculpture* (ACS 15, Atlanta 1988). B.C. Dietrich, 'Divine Concept and Iconography in Greek Religion', *GB* 12-13 (1985-1986), 180 points out that xoana were not necessarily aniconic.

[5] The Homeric priestess Theano, the wife of Antenor, was also connected with the theft of the Palladium (see above pp. 83-85), which seems to imply a conflation between the civic cult of Athena on the acropolis and that of the Palladium.

scription of the Palladium as an uniform iconographic type presupposes the existence of a similar prototype. This may support the notion that the seated effigy worshipped by the Trojan women in *Il.* 6.303 is not the Palladium.[6]

The cult statue in the *Iliad* apparently lacks martial attributes and is large enough to receive a peplos on its lap (*Il.* 6.92). The palladia by contrast are always shown standing, attired in military garb, and having the size of a large doll.[7] In addition, they are kept in the inner sanctum of the temple, accessible only to priest or priestess.[8] However, the fact that antique idols were kept in special chambers did not preclude their public appearance in ritual ceremonies. At the Plynteria festival the wooden statue of Athena Polias was carried in a parade to Phaleron, where its clothes were washed in the sea, and then brought back to the Erechtheion on the Acropolis.[9] In the month of Maemacterion the Athenian ephebes escorted the Palladium to Phaleron and returned it to its shrine in a nocturnal procession, a service most likely to be connected with the reopening of the court "at the Palladion."[10]

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[6] Cf. Schol. *Il.* 6.92; Strabo 13.1.41; Chavannes, *De raptu*, 60-63; Ziehen, *RE* 36.2, 173-174; Lorimer, *Monuments*, 445-451; Simon, *Götter*, 194; Espermann, *Antenor*, 37-38. On the *archaia xoana* of Athena, see Donohue 79-81, and on the debated iconography of the statue of Athena Polias in Athens, see Ziehen, *op. cit.*, 178-179 and Simon, *Götter*, *ibidem*.

[7] For a typology of the Palladium, see Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 66 and n. 37; id., *Religion*, 140; Motel, *Iliouspersis*, 87-97.

[8] Dion. Hal. I: Ἀρκτῖνος φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ παλλάδιον ἓν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ. Cf. J.W. Hewitt, 'The major Restrictions of Access to Greek Temples', *TAPA* 40 (1909), 90 (on the temples of Athena at Pellene and Tegea). The Athenian Palladium, a primitive wooden image of Athena in arms, was not kept on the acropolis. It stood in a sanctuary attended by the ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ βουζύγης (IG II/III^2 3177), near the court hearing murder cases (ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ) probably in the Phaleron area (Chavannes, *De raptu*, 33-38; Ziehen, *RE* 36.2, 177; Nilsson, *Religion* 1, 435-437; Burkert, *ZRGG* 1970, 360-363).

[9] Burkert, *ZRGG* 1970, 358-359; *Homo Necans*, 153; Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, 9-11.

[10] Burkert, *ZRGG* 1970, 357-358, 361-362; *Religion*, 79. The Palladium at Argos also underwent an annual bath (Callim., *Bath of Pallas*, 5, 35-43; and Bulloch, *Fifth Hymn*, 8-16, 145-147).

Although female deities are usually served by a priestess and male gods by a priest, the division of the ministration according to sex is far from being clear-cut. While the priestess of Athena Polias in Athens is a mature woman and the Trojan Theano the mother of fifty children, the Athenian Palladium is ministered by the priest of Zeus.[11] Consequently, despite the obvious objection that tending the sacred image of a god is one thing, viewing it another, Antenor's status as husband of Theano, the manly and warlike character of Athena, and the existence of male attendants of the goddess could help support the notion that the Trojan elder could participate first-hand in the theft of the sacred image.[12]

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[11] Cf. L.R. Farnell, 'Sociological Hypotheses concerning the Position of Women in Ancient Religion', *ARW* 7 (1904), 77-78, 85-86, 91.

[12] The little fragment of a mid-sixth century B.C. Attic black-figure vase now in Naples preserving the painted inscription ANTENO[P above a small reclining lion — and a rosette — could have pertained to a representation of the Trojan Antenor (E. Gabrici, *MonAI* 22 [1913], fig. 190, col. 509 suggests other identifications; Davies, *LIMC* 1981, 13 nr. 6 ["scene of uncertain subject"]). The lion reclines upon the corner of a small architectural structure which recalls the Greek and Etruscan altars, but also bears resemblance to fountains and, possibly, palaces. Stylistically related lions, also recumbent, dated to c. 570-560 B.C., were excavated at Sardis where they were originally mounted on the corners of a Lydian altar. The general appearance of such an altar with corner lions is illustrated in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia (c. 540 B.C.). For the Sardis altar, see G.M.A. Hanfmann & N. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975* (Cambridge Mass.-London 1978), 21, 65-66 and figs. 105-117. On both the Apulian pelike 3231 in Naples (RVAp 15/29; see above, n. 27 p. 86) and an Apulian volute krater dated to 370-360 (Taranto, Museo Nazionale = RVAp 7/29; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, pls. 36-37 and 64.1), where Diomedes and Odysseus are shown rushing out of the temple with the stolen Palladium, an altar is painted facing the entrance of the temple (cf. Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 76-78, "on sait que, dans la disposition du sanctuaire, l'autel se trouvait normalement en face de l'entrée principale du temple, et à quelque distance de celui-ci"; Burkert, *Religion*, 87, 92; also R.S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Alexandria and the Nomes* (London 1892), nr. 1191 and pl. 28: "Shrine, having two columns supporting pediment; within, statue of Athena l., wearing helmet, chiton with diplois and aegis; holds Nike r., with wreath, and rests l. on shield; before her, altar"). The possible identification of the lion on the Naples fragment as the corner of an altar, and the straightforward onomastic information contained on the same piece, suggest a scene in which Antenor stands before an altar. That the architectural structure could be the altar facing the temple of Athena in Troy, and that Antenor's presence there could be linked to his involvement in the Palladium episode are tempting, but not verifiable, hypotheses.

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Plate 3, a: Dutch private collection: Terracotta bust of Isis Cosmocrateira (from: *Studi A. Adriani* III [Rome 1984], pl. lxxvi, 1).

Plate 3, b: London, British Museum, BMC 1062: Bronze bust of Athena (Courtesy of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum).

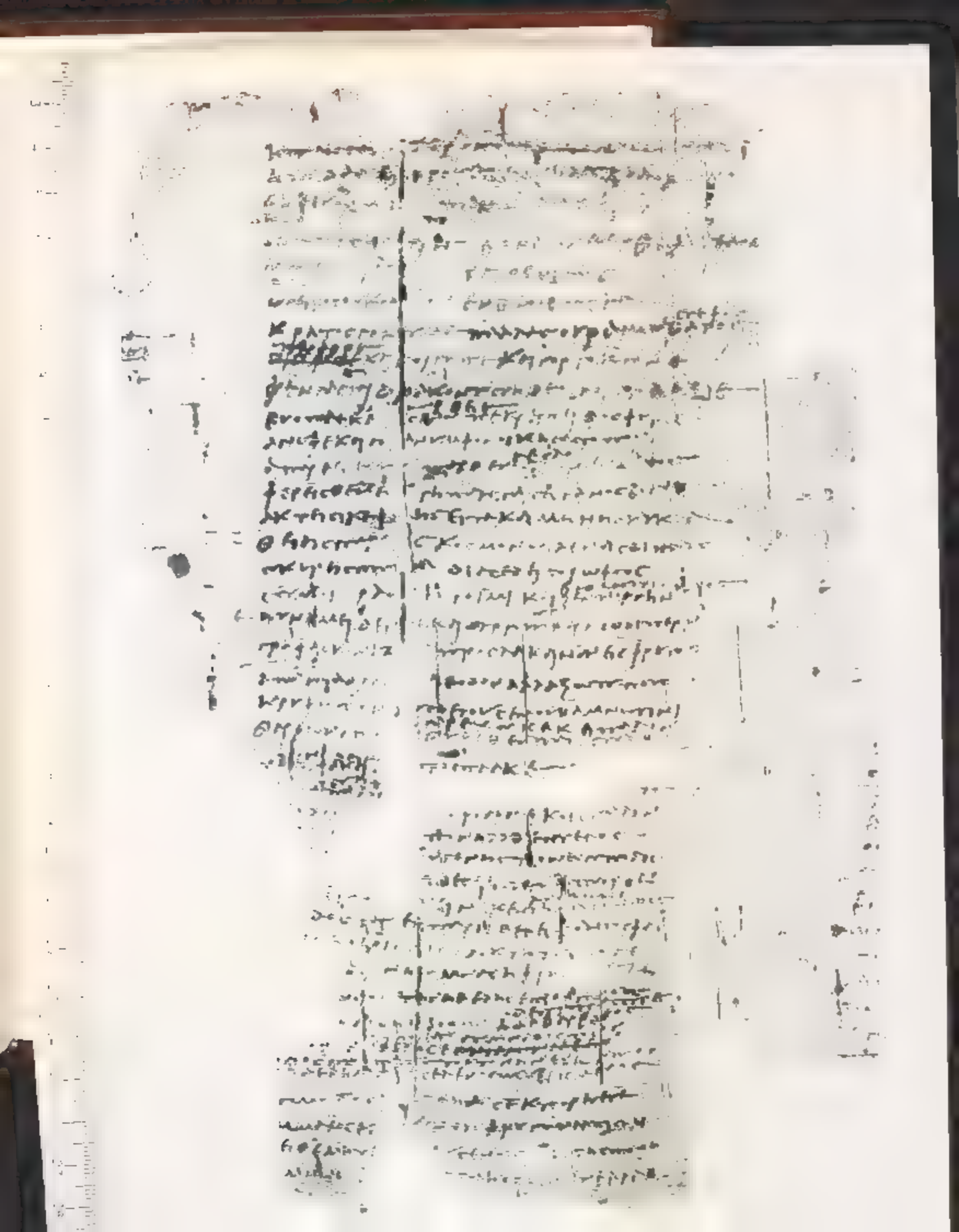

Plate 2: Mosaic from Tusculum with bust of Athena in central tondo

Plate 3: (a) Terracotta bust of Isis Cosmocrateira
(b) Bronze bust of Athena

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